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PREFACE

The materials embodied in this volume were collected by the writer from November, 1926, to July, 1927. They are no more than a small sample of materials which might be obtained. They are far from constituting an ethnographic monograph on the people of Tepoztlán. Eight months is too short a time within which to secure the data for such a monograph. One would have to spend a considerably longer period, and one would need a command of both languages spoken in the community, not merely a fair knowledge of one of them. Eight months is not even time enough to correct all one's initial blunders. That this report still contains some positive mistakes the writer knows is likely. The materials are now published only because it seems improbable that he will soon be able to return to Tepoztlán to continue the study here only introduced. In order to indicate some of the limitations of the materials, statements derived, not from the direct observation of the flow of custom in the village, but from accounts, insufficiently corroborated, of informants, are so indicated in footnotes.

The study was initiated under the encouragement and direction of Dr. Fay-Cooper Cole, and was made possible by a fellowship granted by the Social Science Research Council. The writer has had much opportunity to learn from Dr. Robert E. Park, and has like-

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121 If the interest of the student lies in an investigation of social processes in general terms, it would seem a more direct procedure to study such processes as they actually occur, rather than to content one's self with comparing the historical sequences so laboriously determined by historical methods of the ethnologist, who works without the direct sources of written records. In sequences of the latter sort only a small part of all the facts can ever be recaptured. If one is interested in studying what happens rather than what happened, one moves more directly if one studies it as it happens. Now that the power and personnel of anthropology has grown, it can undertake such investigations and still continue its work of preserving the record of the dying cultures.

114 121 That it is still possible to study the more isolated groups of Mexico in order to learn something about the pre-Columbian cultures, and about the changes

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the purely antiquarian anthropology cannot be of great utility, and so far very little effort has been devoted to make evolutionary anthropology bear upon the actual problems of modern life.

"Again, the diffusionist writings, the reconstructions of past history of the various primitive races, is of no obvious or direct importance in modern questions. Whether mother-right has moved on the American continent from southeast to northwest, or whether moccasins were first discovered among the Algonquins of the northeast and gradually moved towards Mexico, this important historical fact has a theoretical significance perhaps, but it cannot very well be used by the social student in discussing prohibition, the negro problem, the question of divorce, of sexual morality, and so on.

"The recognition that social process is submitted to definite rules exactly as natural process is subject to the laws of physics, chemistry and biology, finds a very tenacious opposition in the science of society" (address under the title "Anthropology as a Social Science" before the Social Science Research Council at Hanover, N.H., August 10, 1926 [unpublished]).

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which they underwent when they came in contact with the Spaniards, is not to be denied. Such a study would be a study of a dead culture and of a past change. It is merely to be pointed out that such was not the interest which took the writer to Mexico. To learn as much as can be learned as to the history of the present culture of Tepoztlán is a part of any thorough study of that culture. But the interest in the following pages lies more particularly with the current changes. The task was not conceived to be the rescue of survivals from aboriginal culture. There was no attempt to collect, for example, folk songs persisting in the memory of any individual which might most closely preserve pre-Columbian characteristics, but rather to study those songs which are today vivid and meaningful in the lives of the contemporary folk. That these songs are almost entirely European in character is interesting, but in no way limits their importance.

The Mexican folk are not necessarily Indian. The folk culture is a fusion of Indian and Spanish elements. The acculturation which gave rise to this mixed culture took place three hundred years ago, largely within the first few generations after the Conquest. The analysis of the Mexican folk culture into Spanish and Indian elements is one problem—a historical problem. The description of changes occurring in that folk culture due to spread of city ways is another problem—a study of a contemporary change.

The disorganization and perhaps the reorganization

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114 of the culture here considered under the slowly growing influence of the city is a process—a diffusion process—which can and will be studied. It is, the writer assumes, an example, within convenient limits, of the general type of change whereby primitive man becomes civilized man, the rustic becomes the urbanite.
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whorls (S. *malacate;* N. *malacatl*) which abound in Tepoztlán and are simply picked up in any yard and used. Even in the few surviving primitive looms, however, commercial thread is used. There are at least two of these looms still in operation in Tepoztlán. They are used only to weave women's belts. The structure and somewhat detailed nomenclature of this loom cannot find room for discussion here. The weft is set up on a framework (N. *tzatzaztin*) of ten short sticks driven into the ground. The upper end of the loom is fastened to a house or tree; the lower end is drawn tight with the backstrap (N. *analoni*).[1]

Of industries relying on special machinery there are two: the mill, to which is brought for grinding only a small part of the maize eaten in Tepoztlán,[2] and the mixing and bottling of soft drinks of carbonated water and artificial flavoring. Several men are occupied with this enterprise, and the product is largely consumed.

This fusion of Indian with Spanish features produces, it will readily be seen, three classes of culture traits: unaltered Indian elements; elements which have developed in Mexico from the impinging of Spanish features upon a homologous Indian pattern; and European elements transported intact to Mexico.

[1] Mena says, and probably rightly, that the entire loom is called *analoni*. But these particular informants used the term for the backstrap only. [114]

[2] There are three reasons why the mill has only a limited use: to many the slight cost is prohibitive; husbands assert that the flavor of *tortillas* made of mill-ground *nixtamal* is very inferior; and, finally, to bring her maize regularly to the mill to the neglect of her *metate* lowers a woman in her neighbors' eyes. [252] [558]

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CHAPTER VI

A TEPOZTECAN BOOK OF DAYS[1]

January 1.—This is the *fiesta* of Santa María de Tepoztlán. At midnight, the first hour of the day before the *fiesta*, the bells are rung in the towers of the Templo Mayor. They ring at intervals, first the large bell and then the small ones, until two o'clock. Then the *chirimitero* climbs to the roof of the church, and in a silence of the bells he begins to play his little wooden flageolet. This is what he plays, or some variation of this theme.

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The reedy notes of this instrument, accompanied by a small drum marking this persistent rhythm, rise again and again until dawn. Whenever the *chirimía* is silent, the bells begin again, while the *chirimitero* and his drummer protect themselves against the night air by attending to the bottle they have brought with them. At daybreak they go home.

[1] The present tense is used throughout this chapter as a convenience. No visitor can assert that any ritual or practice always takes place in a certain manner. Strictly speaking, the following account is of festival activity from November to July, 1926–27, observed (except in a few cases) by the writer, and of festal activity for the other months of the year described to him by Tepoztecans. The essential features of these rituals are repeated each year in the same manner. And certainly the form in which this cycle of *fiestas* is here presented does represent the way the people themselves think about them—as changeless repetition.

[114]

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can be observed, it would seem, in the diffusion of tools and rational techniques from *los correctos* to *los tontos*.

The materials which can be offered here are too scanty to permit even a beginning of such a study. They are indeed inadequate to give a balanced description of all the commoner practices in connection with life-crises. But they may be offered so that the merely depictive aspect of this study may be more nearly complete, and so that the cadence of a Tepoztecan life may be at least outlined.[1]

A pregnant woman keeps largely to the seclusion of her own home. There are no important taboos on women during pregnancy. "If she suddenly wants to eat something, and cannot get it, she takes *tzacxochitl*[2] so that the child will not fall." After three months of pregnancy she goes to the *barranca* to bathe. She may do this many times before the birth.

When the time of delivery comes, she is assisted by a midwife [S. *partera;* N. *amantecatl*]. The midwife cuts the umbilical cord with scissors, measuring four fingers' length from the child. Then the cord is carefully tied with cotton thread which has been doubled or quadrupled and the end of the cord is burned well with a tallow candle in order that it may not bleed. Tallow from the candle is put on the thread, and the child is tied up with a band. In about three days the cord will fall off, but every day until that time fresh tallow is put on. When the cord has fallen, tallow is put on for the last time. The umbilical cord is preserved

[1] The materials on birth customs were secured by Margaret Park Redfield. They were nearly all obtained from one informant, a woman of middle age, who had borne nine children. She represents the typical *tonta;* and it is probable that what she described is characteristic of the majority of births in Tepoztlán. Information on marriage customs is much less complete; it was obtained from three informants, two *tontos* and one *correcto*. That on death customs is more complete, and probably the customs here vary little from family to family. The writer attended many funerals.

[2] *Laelium* sp. She takes an infusion of the pseudo-bulb.

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533 For these reasons an attempt was made to collect such songs. Because of circumstances to be described [114] it was difficult to obtain the ritual songs; those obtained are no more than a sample. The social songs of ballad type that were collected, on the other hand, probably include nearly all of this sort locally produced and in current favor at the time of the investigation.[1] A collection resulted of twenty-seven songs, including almost two thousand lines.

The songs in this collection easily fall into two very different types, which correspond in general with a distinction between public and private music. The songs of the former group are the traditional chants that accompany some of the religious dances. All local public songs today in Tepoztlán are a part of the ceremonies of the church. They have their prose complement in the *relaciónes*, the texts spoken to accompany *Los Moros*, the religious dance-drama previously described.[2] These ritual songs are entirely anonymous

[126] [1] The writer first began to take down songs as he heard them sung. Later he found that one of the two best-known singers in Tepoztlán knew all the songs in current use. Some he had written down in a copy-book; some he dictated to the writer. At many later social occasions the writer never heard sung a local song which he had not already recorded from the collection of this one leading singer. There is no question as to the local nature of the songs. The ritual songs are used only for certain local ceremonies. The ballad songs that are local are notorious. Not only do they often contain local terms and references, but the music of northern Morelos is apparently of a distinct type. On hearing a few measures [177] a singer will exclaim, "Oh, that is entirely *morelense*." Besides the local songs many songs imported from other parts of Mexico are sung.

[536] [2] The prose text accompanying *Los Moros* was not collected. The many versions throughout Mexico are similar. One is printed in Gamio, *La población del valle de Teotihuacan*, II, 333 ff. *Relaciónes*, some in Spanish and some in Nahuatl, from a *pueblo* in Morelos, are published in Elfego Adan, art., "Las

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APPENDIX B

TEXT OF *RELACION*

[The following is a part of the Nahuatl text of the *relación*, used at the *fiesta* Altepe-ilhuitl in September, which is spoken by the actor representing "El Tepozteco." A somewhat different version, including a short reply made in turn by each of the attacking *pueblos*, has been collected and published by Robelo.[1] The first line of the following extract is the text as I collected it, suffering from the degeneration of long traditional use and the errors of the collector. The second line is the text as "restored" by Mr. John H. Cornyn, and the third line is Mr. Cornyn's translation. Mr. Cornyn says that the text was composed in the sixteenth century "on the model of the pre-Conquest Aztec metrical poetry (and) is written in the trochaic meter." He says also that "the Tepozteco or Lord of Tepoztlán accompanied the wizards and wonderworkers of Cuernavaca summoned to Mexico City by Moctezuma II, in the hope that they might prevent the arrival of the Spanish invaders to Tenochtitlan. He was one of the first converts to Christianity. For this reason the four cities mentioned in the text, so tradition says, rose against him; but, with the help of the Virgin, he defeated them and brought their lords and nobles into the Catholic fold. This incident was taken advantage of by Fr. Domingo de la Asunción, first missionary to Tepoztlán, to convert the heathen autumn festival into a Christian feast with its accompanying miracle play to replace the old ritual." The notes which follow the text were also kindly furnished by Mr. Cornyn.—R. R.]

Aquin anmehuatin nican anhuallahque ahueli
Aquin amehuantin nican anhuallaque[2] [*o-huallaque*]? *Ahuel*[3] [*ca amo*]
Not even

Who [are] you [who] have come here?

[1] Art., "Diccionario de mitología Nahoa," pp. 228–34.

[2] *An-huallaque* for *o-huallaque*. The poets frequently left out the sign of the preterite.

[3] *Ahueli* is dialectic for *ca amo*, "not even."

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preface

THIS STUDY was begun as a joint project of the Inter-American Indian Institute of Mexico and the National Indian Institute of the United States. The project was originally conceived as a pilot study for a contemplated series of studies in various parts of Latin America, to provide government agencies working in rural areas with a better understanding of the psychology and needs of the people. John Collier, as head of the National Indian Institute, and Manuel Gamio, director of the Inter-American Indian Institute, were instrumental in organizing the project and seeing it through its first year. Financial assistance was provided by the Viking Fund.

As field representative of the National Indian Institute, I was director of the project and had the assistance from time to time of personnel provided by various Mexican government agencies. Field work began in Tepoztlán in December, 1943, and was carried on through June, 1944, when it was abruptly terminated because of lack of funds. In the summer of 1947 I returned to the village to continue field work for a period of three months, with the aid of research grants from the American Philosophical Society and Washington University. In the summer of 1948 I again returned to the village with the aid of research grants from the American Philosophical Society and the University of Illinois.

With Dr. Gamio's aid, and through the courtesy of Dr. Alfonso Caso and Dr. D. F. Rubín de la Borbolla, of the Museo Nacional de Historia y Antropología, four anthropology students were assigned to this project for field work training. The students were Angélica Castro de la Fuente, Isabel Pozas, Anselmo Marino Flores, and Francisco Lima. The Departamento de Educación also generously assigned Esperanza Dominguez Reina as a student assistant. In addition we had the assistance of two social workers and two doctors from the Departamento de Salubridad y Asistencia, and two agronomists from the Departamento Agrario.

The Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas took an active interest in the project, and contributed personnel and aid in other ways, during all three field trips. In 1943 and 1944, when Asuntos Indígenas was under the direction of Isidro Candia, we enjoyed the field assistance of Dr. Emanuel Palacios, anthropologist. Later, through the courtesy of Dr. Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán and Julio de la Fuente, in their capacity as directors of Asuntos Indígenas, we received the services of Alberto Beltrán, artist. To Alberto Beltrán I am especially grateful for his fine drawings which illustrate this book, and for his enthusiastic cooperation and keen interest in anthropology. To him and to all those mentioned above I extend my thanks.

To Dr. Alejandro D. Marroquín, of El Salvador, I am deeply grateful for capable assistance during all three of my field trips. He has generously shared with me his broad knowledge of Latin America and has contributed much to this study. In addition to his over-all assistance he did a special study of village politics and government in 1944, and in 1947 he worked with me on an intensive family case study. At present, as my colleague at the University of Illinois, he has continued to assist me in the organization of portions of the field data.

I am indebted to Luis Chávez Orozco, outstanding Mexican historian, for

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127 locating and making available to me much unpublished archive materials pertaining to Tepoztlán. He also permitted me to use his excellent private library and files on uncataloged documents in the Archivo General y Pública de la Nación. Had it not been for his cooperation and generosity, the historical sections of this study would have suffered.

000 In the course of my work in Mexico, my family and I were shown kindnesses by many people. I wish particularly to thank Julio de la Fuente, Emanuel Palacios, Angélica Castro de la Fuente, Amelia Fox, Alfonso Villa Rojas, Wigberto Jiménez Moreno, and Antonio Pompa y Pompa. It was also my special privilege to work with Manuel Gamio, Mexico's elder statesman among social scientists.

Our friends in Tepoztlán are too numerous for mention here, and I must thank them as a group. Needless to say, this study was made possible only by their kind [115] cooperation. Well over one hundred Tepoztecans contributed directly as informants, and a few were among my best assistants.

To Dr. Robert Redfield I am indebted for his continued interest in this study. Correspondence and discussions with him have always been stimulating and [122] helpful. He graciously aided me in securing funds for my last two field trips. Moreover, his encouragement in this critical restudy of his own work, in the interest of science, has been a source of moral support.

[128] Dr. Theodora M. Abel and Dr. Renata A. Calabresi have been most kind to [114] take time out from their busy schedules to analyze the Rorschach protocols and to produce Chapter 13—"The People Seen from Their Rorschach Tests." Dr. Edgar Anderson, of Washington University and the Missouri Botanical Gardens, has graciously helped with an intensive study of Tepoztecan corn. His report, "An Intensive Survey of Maize in Tepoztlán," appears as Appendix A. To my colleagues at the University of Illinois, Dr. John Albig, Dr. Erich Ahrens, Dr. J. E. Hulett, Dr. Margaret Reid, Dr. Frederick Will, and Dr. O. H. Mowrer, I am grateful for their reading of portions of the manuscript and their helpful suggestions. To Dr. George P. Murdock, Dr. Melville J. Herskovits, Dr. Paul Radin, Dr. Howard Becker, and Dr. Jules Henry, I am also grateful for their comments on portions of the manuscript. I would like to thank Dr. Vera L. Maslow for her careful and critical reading of the entire manuscript.

To my wife, Ruth Maslow Lewis, I am deeply indebted for her collaboration in all aspects of the field work and for her aid in the preparation of the manuscript.

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introduction

In 1926 Robert Redfield, a young American anthropologist, first studied the village of Tepoztlán and gave us his pioneer work, *Tepoztlán—a Mexican Village*.[1] This book has since become a standard reference and a classic in the field of community studies.[2] It is of particular importance in the history of community studies in that it contains Redfield's first statement on the nature of the folk society, and, at least implicitly, the concept of the folk-urban continuum, a hypothesis of societal change later made explicit in *The Folk Culture of Yucatan*.[3] The folk-urban conceptualization of culture change now enjoys great prestige among sociologists and anthropologists, and has served as the theoretical frame of reference for many of the community studies done by Redfield's students.[4]

In the same year in which Redfield's first book appeared, Stuart Chase visited Tepoztlán for a short while and later described it in his book, *Mexico, a Study of Two Americas*.[5] His account, based largely on Redfield's work, was, in effect, a popularized version of the folk-urban dichotomy. In it Tepoztlán was compared very favorably with Middletown, U.S.A.

Seventeen years after Redfield's study, I went to Tepoztlán to do a broad ethnographic and historical study of the social, economic, political, and religious life of the community, with special emphasis upon an analysis of the changes which had occurred in the village since 1926. This involved a restudy of the village and a comparison of our findings.[6] Special attention, however, was given to those aspects of village life which Redfield had merely touched upon, such as demography, the land problem, systems of agriculture, the distribution of wealth, standards of living, politics and local government, the life cycle of the individual, and interpersonal relations. The bulk of the materials presented in this book is therefore new data.[7]

Upon my arrival in the village it seemed to be in many respects as Redfield had described it. In physical appearance it had changed but little. Once off the highway which runs to the plaza, there were the same unpaved streets and adobe houses, the barrio chapels, the people carrying water to their homes from the nearest fountain, the men wearing their ancient white *calzones* and huaraches, the bare-

[1] Robert Redfield, *Tepoztlán—a Mexican Village* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930).

[2] It is interesting to note that at the time of publication Redfield viewed it as a preliminary investigation which he hoped to continue. *Ibid.*, p. vii.

[3] Redfield, *The Folk Culture of Yucatan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941).

[4] See, for example, Julio de la Fuente, *Yalalag, Una Villa Zapoteca Serrana* (Mexico: Museo Nacional de Antropología, 1949); and Horace Miner, *St. Denis, a French Canadian Parish* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939).

[5] Stuart Chase, *Mexico—a Study of Two Americas* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1931).

[6] Originally it was planned to use Redfield's monograph as an ethnographic base for a personality study. It soon became apparent, however, that because of the many changes which had occurred since 1926, a restudy of the village was necessary. The importance of restudies in the social sciences and the implications of the differences in our findings are treated in Chapter 21, "Summary and Conclusions," p. 427.

[7] It was not necessary for our purposes to restudy certain aspects of village life adequately covered by Redfield, such as the material culture, the fiesta system, the *corridos*, magic, and medicine.

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the Goodenough Draw-a-Man, the Emotional Response Test, the Moral Judgment Test, an adapted form of Thematic Apperception, free drawings, and written themes. The Rorschach tests were given by Ruth Lewis; the Performance Scale, the drawing tests, and the written themes, by Angélica Castro de la Fuente; the Thematic Apperception, by Esperanza Dominguez Reina; and the others, by local assistants.[19]

The methodological orientation of this study combines the historical, the functional, and the configurational points of view. In the first instance we have studied Tepoztecan culture as a changing phenomenon, responding to different influences at various times in its complicated history. In the second, we have examined the institutions of the village as they function at the present time, and have shown the inter-relationships between the social, economic, and political aspects of life. In the third, we have sought to understand Tepoztecan culture as a whole, as an integrated way of life, as well as part of the larger Mexican scene.

Tepoztlán is discussed from two points of view: first, as an entity in itself, with its internal organization which includes the family, the barrio, the village-wide institutions like the church, the school, and the local government; and second, as part of the units larger than itself such as the municipio, the state, the nation, and the world. These internal and external aspects of village organization and village life are, of course, closely inter-related and together constitute a continuum of social and economic organization. In the case of Tepoztlán, its relationship with the Mexican nation is particularly important, as the context within which its history, economics, politics, and other aspects of life have developed. Mexico was therefore one of our basic configurations in this study.

Broadly speaking, studies of Mexico by social scientists have been of two types: one, studies of the nation as a whole; and two, studies of single communities. The former have been done primarily by historians, geographers, economists, and sociologists;[20] the latter by anthropologists. The relationship between these two types of studies has tended to be one-sided. Whereas the writers of national studies, of necessity, have had to draw upon local studies, anthropologists for the most part have carried on their work with little effort to place it within a national or even a regional framework.[21] Indeed, anthropological studies of communities in Mexico and, for that matter, in other parts of Latin America, have been characterized by what might be called an ideological localism whereby each little community is

[19] We have drawn upon the results of most of the tests in writing up the sections on Tepoztecan character. However, with the exception of the Rorschach results, which are published here, the other test data will be published later.

[20] A few examples of the type of national studies I have in mind are Eyler N. Simpson, *The Ejido, Mexico's Way Out* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937); Ernest Gruening, *Mexico and Its Heritage* (New York: Century Co., 1928); Frank Tannenbaum, *The Mexican Agrarian Revolution* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1929); Nathan L. Whetten, *Rural Mexico* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948).

[21] The work that Redfield and the Carnegie Institute of Washington carried on in Yucatán represents an exception. However, the primary orientation of the community studies in this program was to use Yucatán as a convenient laboratory for the study of theoretical problems concerning the nature of society and social change rather than toward a better understanding of Mexico and its problems.

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treated as self-sufficient and isolated.[22] Undoubtedly, this is a carry-over from an older anthropological tradition which was concerned with salvaging cultural data from rapidly disappearing primitive peoples. While such an approach might still have some justification in dealing with an isolated tribe in the jungles of New Guinea, it has little justification in studies of modern nations like Mexico.

The common cultural heritage of Spain has reached into the most distant corners of Mexico since early colonial times; and since the Revolution of 1910-20, even the more isolated villages have become increasingly drawn into the main stream of national life and have felt the impact of national policies and programs. Tepoztlán is subject to national Mexican law, its *ejido* program is part of a national program, its school system is regulated by the Federal Department of Education, its forests are protected by the Federal Department of Forestry, and in a more general way its economic life is part of the larger economy of the state of Morelos and the nation. In this sense, then, the culture of Tepoztlán is part of the larger culture of Mexico and must be examined in that context.

In studying communities in Mexico it is important that the anthropologist become a student not merely of the single community but of the region and nation as well. The anthropologist must be sufficiently versed in the more important historical, geographical, economic, and cultural characteristics of the region and nation to be able to place his community in relation to each of them, and to indicate just what the community is representative of in the larger scene. Like the sociologist, the anthropologist must become skilled in the use of census data and comparative statistics to relate and compare population trends, standards of living, health and education, and types of agricultural problems. In the matter of cultural characteristics the anthropologist must know what is unique to his community and what it shares with broader areas, what is new and what is old, what is primitive and what is modern.

It seems to me that such a procedure makes for a better sense of perspective in understanding the local scene, and helps to distinguish more clearly between what is local and what is widespread.[23] It makes local materials more useful to other social scientists as well as to government administrators concerned with action programs. Furthermore, it offers an excellent opportunity to study the way in which national events and programs such as the Revolution and the *ejido* program have worked out under local conditions. One of the questions to be considered in this study, therefore, is: What is Tepoztlán representative of in rural Mexico?

It has become commonplace in writing about Mexico to begin by emphasizing the great diversity in geography, language, and the cultural levels of the people. Diversity is undoubtedly one of the important characteristics of the country, but we must not overlook the fact that within this diversity there are underlying similarities in trends and problems as well as in culture. These similarities are the result

[22] For a similar criticism see Julian Steward's paper, "Some Limitations of Anthropological Community Studies," read at the American Anthropological Association Meeting, 1948.

[23] A recent monograph on a Tarascan village devotes considerable space to describing children's games, which are known throughout most of Mexico and in other parts of Latin America, as though these games were a distinctively local Tarascan phenomenon.

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The Mexican Revolution of 1910-20 was a turning point in the history of Tepoztlán as well as of the nation, and was a major influence in breaking down any remaining isolation of the village. Tepoztlán was in the heart of Zapatista country, and few villages suffered greater upheavals. The village was alternately occupied by opposing Zapatista and federal forces recruited from all parts of the country, and both left their progeny in the village, further adding to the mixture of physical types. At one time or another during this period the entire population fled to the hills or to Mexico City, Guerrero, Puebla, and other parts of the country, and as a result there is a large proportion of adults who have lived outside of Tepoztlán.

The Revolution also brought about the overthrow of the ruling *cacique* group in Tepoztlán and a general lessening of social and economic class differences. The communal lands which had been under the control of local *caciques* were now freely available to all Tepoztecans. Furthermore, the municipio regained the land it had lost to a neighboring hacienda and thus participated in the benefits of the national *ejido* program. In addition, the Revolution has meant a general rise in the standard of living, the expansion of educational facilities, as well as a weakening of the older concepts of authoritarianism and a corresponding strengthening of democratic values.

Tepoztlán mirrors many national trends and brings into sharp focus some of the most pressing problems of Mexico as a nation. The changes which have occurred in Tepoztlán since the Revolution, such as the introduction of corn mills, the building of modern highways, and the establishment of bus service to Cuernavaca, are typical of changes that are taking place over wide areas throughout Mexico. The poor agricultural resources, the relative importance of forest and grazing lands in the agricultural economy, soil erosion and exhaustion, deforestation, the small size of both private and *ejido* landholdings, population pressure, and low productivity are among the problems which stand out in Tepoztlán as in the nation. One of the advantages of studying these problems within the framework of a single municipio and village is that we can better understand the inter-relationship between geographic, historic, economic, social, political, and psychological factors; and above all, it is possible to know better what these problems and changes mean to the people themselves.

It is important, also, to consider the ways in which Tepoztlán is distinctive. If we compare Tepoztlán with other villages in Mexico, rather than with the nation as a whole, we find that in many ways it is atypical. Tepoztlán is a large village, larger than ninety per cent of the villages of Mexico, making for a greater complexity of social organization. Tepoztlán has been a political and administrative center of the municipio since the Conquest and even under Moctezuma; it has retained its communal lands,[39] a long tradition of literacy, and a local intelligentsia

[39] Simpson, in connection with an otherwise excellent critique of Chase's romantic version of Tepoztlán, has written that Tepoztlán cannot be considered a "typical" Mexican village or municipio because, according to Helen Phipps (*Some Aspects of the Agrarian Question in Mexico —A Historical Study* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1925), p. 120) it was the only village in the entire state of Morelos which maintained its communal lands. It seems to me that Phipps' statement is a considerable exaggeration. At least three of the municipios surrounding Tepoztlán did not lose all of their communal lands before the Revolution; their lands, like those

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since the middle of the last century; specialized industries or handicrafts are absent or have disappeared; and it is situated not far from Mexico City. These are the facts that tend to differentiate Tepoztlán from many Mexican villages. 171 [105]

In the foregoing pages I have attempted to place Tepoztlán in the broader Mexican scene in terms of its geography, history, population trends, agrarian problems, and other aspects, and have pointed out in what ways Tepoztlán is representative of the nation as a whole. Obviously, in a country of such great diversity as Mexico it would be impossible to find any single village or municipio which would represent the entire range of variations and differences. Tepoztlán is not here presented as *the* synthesis of Mexico but rather as *one* synthesis.

of Tepoztlán, were not suitable for plantation purposes. This undoubtedly was also the case in many other mountainous areas in Mexico. On this basis I would be inclined to follow Tannenbaum's findings which indicate that in 1910 approximately 16 per cent of all villages and 51 per cent of all rural population could be classified as of the "free-village" type. (See Tannenbaum, *Mexican Revolution*, pp. 30-37.) Simpson, *The Ejido*, p. 36, considers this figure as a "considerable over-estimate." In any case, Tepoztlán would be typical of the free-village type. [114]

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types of categories of cultivable land according to productivity. The distribution of these land classes is shown in Fig. 5.

First-class land produces an average of about two *cargas* of corn on the cob for every *cuartillo* of seed planted. This is by far the best land, and it is located in the valley bottoms where seasonal streams bring down the rich fertilizing materials from the monte and forests. The soil on this land is dark brown to black. Less than five per cent of the land of plow agriculture is of this type. Second-class land produces on the average of one *carga* of corn on the cob for every *cuartillo* of seed planted. This land slopes more and is more eroded; it accounts for about forty-five per cent of the cultivable land.[4] The soils are sandier and vary from light brown to reddish. Third-class lands produce on the average of about one-half a *carga* of corn on the cob for every *cuartillo* of seed planted, and account for another forty-five per cent of the cultivable land. These lands have the steepest slope and are the most eroded. It is on t' ese lands that rock terraces, said to be of pre-Conquest times, are used to prevent the complete washing away of the soils. The soil on this land is yellowish and very stony. Frequently the rock-bottom *tepetate* is only a few inches from the surface. (See Fig. 6.)

TABLE 2. Land types and areas according to agrarian Census of 1937.

Land Types	Areas (in Hectares)	Percentage of Total Land Area of Municipio
Monte Alto	11,400	44.0
Monte Bajo	5,750	22.0
En cerril accidental inútil para la agricultura	3,010	11.0
Terrenos de temporal de primero	675	3.8
Terrenos de temporal de segundo y tercero	5,075	19.1
Total	25,910	

From the foregoing materials we can see that the municipio of Tepoztlán is not a single natural or geographic unit.[5] Hills and mountains break it up and form barriers between the villages. Thus Tepoztlán is separated from the village of San Juan to the north by one group of hills and from San Andrés to the southwest by another. Santo Domingo, to the southeast of Tepoztlán, is nestled high up in a pocket in the mountain wall and is more or less isolated from all the other villages of the municipio. Only three of the villages, Ixcatepec, Santiago, and Tepoztlán proper, are located within a single valley and drained by the same stream. The re-

[4] Although there is some evidence in early sixteenth-century documents examined by the writer which points to a greater productivity of the land at that time, it is interesting to note that the description of the lands of the municipio in the first land title of 1548 describes the lands as rocky, sterile, and ill suited for agriculture. Furthermore, the greater portion of the lands was described as "sitios de ganado menor" and "sitios de ganado mayor" which may indicate that the Spaniards viewed the land resources of Tepoztlán as best suited for grazing.

[5] Redfield's references to the municipio as "a natural community" and as a "valley community" tend to give the municipio a geographic unity which it does not in fact have. Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, p. 59.

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occasions when groups of angry residents, headed by a political leader, have broken into houses to cut off the private water supply that was draining the public one.

THE BARRIOS

The village is divided into seven barrios or named locality groupings, each with its own church, patron saint, and internal religious organization.[9] (See Fig. 15.) The barrios of today are essentially religious organizations, but also have important social functions. Redfield believed the barrios were pre-Hispanic survivals of the ancient *calpulli*, an interpretation to be questioned in the light of our data. He wrote:

The *barrio* is plainly recognizable as the pre-Columbian *calpolli*. From the accounts we have of the social organization of Tenochtitlan (Mexico City) and of Texcoco, it

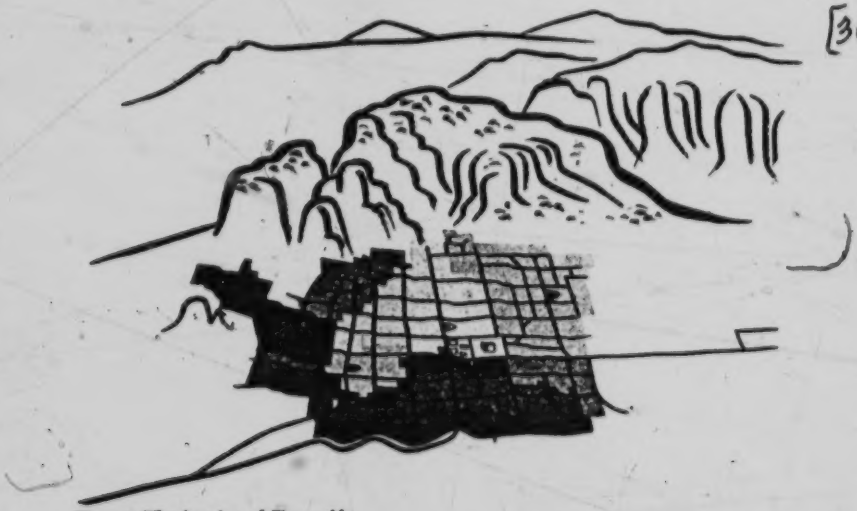

Fig. 15. The barrios of Tepoztlán.

appears that each *pueblo* in the Nahua area was divided into units which bore this name. These units were originally, it has been supposed, based on kinship, but at the time of the Conquest, in Tenochtitlan at least, the kinship tie had largely disappeared, and the *calpolli* was a local unit. Each had its own god, religious structure, courts and judges, and military organization; and the members of each *calpolli* owned in common lands apart and distinct from the lands of the other *calpolli*.

With the destruction of the tribal organization following the Conquest, the military,

[9] In the following pages I have listed *eight* barrios rather than *seven*, because families on twenty-nine house sites in the barrio of Santo Domingo think of themselves as a separate unit owing allegiance to the barrio of Santa Cruz. I have therefore treated these twenty-nine house sites as a separate unit and have referred to them as Santa Cruz (small) in distinction to Santa Cruz (large), since Santa Cruz is the barrio to which they pay taxes.

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political, and judicial functions of the *calpolli* fell into desuetude. But the social and religious functions, conflicting with none of the Spanish forms, and coinciding in some measure with the current Spanish notion of a church parish, continued in Tepoztlán, as no doubt in other *pueblos*, to this day."

The evidence cited by Redfield in support of this speculation is a portion of a recitation in Náhuatl which reads, "Here I am surrounded by my four mountains, seven hills, seven wells and seven stony hillsides." From this Redfield concludes, "This is clearly a reference, in topographic terms, to the *barrios*."[11] This interpretation is not acceptable, since the seven barrios are not each associated with a stony hillside. Nor does each barrio have its own well.

While there can be no doubt that the village is pre-Hispanic, I believe that the present-day layout with its barrio divisions is almost certainly post-Conquest. This conclusion is based primarily upon an analysis of sixteenth-century documents in which the seven barrios are not mentioned, and is partially confirmed by local tradition and some recent archaeological work. These sources suggest that before the Spanish Conquest the village was much more spread out, with numerous small population clusters settled along the valley near the *cerros* where there was an adequate water supply. In a document of 1580,[12] we find that the seat of the village was at a site called *Tetlán*, a site which is known today as being outside of the village limits, to the west. When the road to Cuernavaca was being built in 1935 and 1936, ceramic deposits and other evidence of habitation were unearthed at this spot. In the map (Fig. 16), I have located a number of sites which show some evidence of having been inhabited and which are believed to be pre-Hispanic settlement sites. Some of these sites are mentioned in a document of 1550 which gives the *sitios* and *estancias* which paid tribute to Tepoztlán. I have identified many of these house site names within the village today, but others are known only as the names of sites out in the fields and near the *cerros* as shown in Fig. 16. Still others could not be identified at all.

On the basis of this evidence, it is suggested that the Spaniards brought together the population clusters from the outlying settlements to control the people and to facilitate taxation.[13] That this was a general Spanish policy is clear from other sources.[14] A few informants felt certain that this is what had happened in

[11] Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, pp. 76-77.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 72.

[12] Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, *Relación de la Villa de Tepuzlan* in *Papeles de Nueva España*, Segunda Serie, Geografía y Estadística, Tomo VI (Madrid, 1905), p. 244—this valuable document will be referred to as *Relación* in the pages that follow. It is one of our best sources for the culture of Tepoztlán prior to the Spanish Conquest. It was prepared in 1580 by village officials with the aid of Tepoztecan informants, in response to a questionnaire sent out to all villagers of New Spain by Philip II.

[13] In a document—*Hospital de Jesús*, Leg. 289, Exp. 100—dated March 2, 1551, we find a complaint, made by an investigator sent to Tepoztlán by the *corregidor*, to the effect that there were still some outlying "barrios" not listed in the Tepoztlán census. It was explained that this was done by the natives to cheat the government of taxes.

[14] See Dan Stanislowski, "Early Spanish Town Planning in the New World," *Geographical Review*, 37 (1947), 94-105.

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site in a barrio to which neither spouse belongs and thereby acquire membership in a barrio new to both of them.

Each barrio elects a *mayordomo* who is in charge of barrio affairs. To be eligible for *mayordomo* one must be a native of the village, a member of the barrio and a married man, though exceptions to the latter are known. A reputation for honesty and a willingness to serve the barrio are of course essential. The position of *mayordomo* is one that takes a lot of time and expense. As a rule the rich families do not seek this position, though there may be some pressure upon them to accept. Normally the *mayordomo* is elected for one year, but during recent years there has been a paucity of candidates, especially in the smaller barrios, and some *mayordomos* have had to serve for as long as five years at a time. Recently the barrio of San Sebastián had to get a member of the adjoining barrio of San Miguel for a *mayordomo* because they could find no one within the barrio who wanted the job. The election for *mayordomo* takes place the evening before the Day of the Dead, when the barrio members meet in the churchyard. Only the men participate. A bonfire is made, punch is served, and likely candidates are briefly discussed. A few speeches in Náhuatl may be made and the *mayordomo* is selected by mutual agreement. There is no formal voting. Barrio elections come the closest to truly democratic processes in the village. The elections are not controlled by the priest of the central church.

The incumbent receives from the former *mayordomo* a list of the contributors of the barrio, the key to the church and to the trunk or chest where the religious objects and ornaments are kept. Some of the more valuable jewels are entrusted by the *mayordomo* to a barrio member *de confianza*. The *mayordomo* also receives the funds of the barrio. Most barrios have a fund of a few hundred pesos. In 1943 Los Reyes had 150 pesos and Santo Domingo had 450 pesos.

The *mayordomo* is responsible for the collection of *limosnas*, the organization of the barrio *cuatequitl* or collective labor for the upkeep of the chapel, the preparation and organization of the barrio fiesta, and the maintenance of the church. To do all of this he appoints assistant *mayordomos* and committees who are responsible to him. The *mayordomo* has no authority beyond his personal appeal and prestige. During the twenties when the Cristeros attacked the village, the *mayordomos* organized defense corps for the protection of the barrio chapels.

The most important role of the barrio is religious and social. The barrio saint is a symbol of the collective spirit of the barrio, and the barrio organization—with its *mayordomos*, collective labor on the communally owned plot of land, and the annual barrio fiesta—acts as a unifying influence. This aspect of the barrio was well described by Redfield and, except for a few changes, still holds today.

But it is at the time of the fiesta that the collective importance of the *barrio* members reaches its highest importance, and the chapel becomes the great focus of interest for the entire *pueblo* and even for neighboring villages. The decoration of the chapel, the ceremonial bringing of the candles, the burning of the candles, the erection and burning of the *castillo*, the preparation and consumption of festal dishes, the playing of the ancient

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flute or the *teponaztli* on the roof of the chapel, one or more sacred dances and sometimes *toros*—all constitute a program of ritual and entertainment which occupies from one to seven days. Although members of other *barrios* take part in the entertainment, the *barrio* whose *santo* is celebrated acts as host, and its members very much feel their collective importance.[20]

Barrio *esprit de corps* is also reflected in the inter-barrio competition, especially at the Carnaval, in the claims of superior miraculousness of some barrio saints as over against others, and in the traditional nicknames of each of the barrios. More recently, the soccer teams were organized on an inter-barrio basis, but this did not last.

Yet it would be easy to overestimate the strength of this *esprit de corps*[21] and the differences between the barrios. For example, Redfield wrote:

> The *barrios* have, indeed, obviously different cultures, or what is the same thing, different personalities. The varying characteristics of the *barrios* are recognized by the Tepoztecans themselves, and at least the more reflective of them can express the differences they feel. Thus, Santo Domingo is the most civilized *barrio* and the most patriotic (i.e., most nearly conscious of national feeling). . . . Santa Cruz is strongly primitive—Catholic, exclusive, and independent. . . . San Pedro is a *barrio* of poor, illiterate people who preserve to a marked extent ancient mentality and resent the presence of outsiders in their midst. . . .[22]

The consciousness of *barrio* personalities receives an expression in names which are applied to the *barrios*. These names are in Náhuatl and are in every case names of animals. The names are

Santo Domingo	Cacame [Toads]
La Santísima	Tzicame [Ants]
San Miguel	Techihehicame [Lizards]
Santa Cruz and San Sebastián	Tapeinaxtlame [*Cacomixtles*]
Los Reyes	Metzalcuanime [Maguey Worms]
San Pedro	Tlacuatzitzin [*Tlacuaches*][23]

This account does not describe present-day conditions as observed by the informants and me, and would seem to be a considerable exaggeration of barrio differences even for 1926. At best it would perhaps apply to conditions before 1900 when barrio differences were greater. Barrio nicknames were remembered by our informants, but they are rarely used and have little function in the life of the community. We were also told that a man's barrio could be determined by small differences in dress or manner, but we could observe no such differences, nor were they explained to us. This is not to deny the existence of some barrio differences. It is true, for example, that Santa Cruz has the reputation of being the

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 78.

[21] Some of the symptoms of weakness are the very poor turnout of barrio members for the planting and harvesting of the barrio milpa, the lack of candidates willing to serve as *mayordomo*, and the renting out of the barrio milpas on a cash basis.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 80.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 81.

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most religious and conservative and, according to our study of wealth distribution, it is also the poorest. This does not justify Redfield's statement that the barrios have "obviously different cultures," or that "the members of a barrio tend to think and act alike." Indeed, the absence of distinct barrio traditions was striking. No one could be found who knew the history of his barrio. No one knew when the barrio chapel had been built or when the milpa of the chapel had been obtained.

During the Díaz regime, the distinction between the larger and smaller barrios in terms of those of the center and those of the periphery corresponded in some degree to class distinction, since most of the well-to-do *caciques* and merchants lived in the center. Strictly speaking, however, even this distinction was not accurate, since all the larger barrios had their share of the poor and illiterate; and, as we have already seen, parts of the larger barrios are almost as far from the plaza as the most distant smaller ones.

The general tendency since the Revolution, especially during the past twenty years, has been the diminishing of barrio differences. Today an approximately equal distribution of well-to-do and acculturated families are to be found in all the barrios. In fact, Los Reyes, one of the smaller barrios, showed the highest proportion of landholding families. The various barrios now participate much more equally in village life. The distribution of services is no longer limited to the center. By 1943 there were about ten small stores and a few barber shops scattered among the barrios. Similarly, in contrast to Redfield's finding in 1926 that no letters went to the outlying barrios, San Pedro and Los Reyes now receive their share of the mail. It is also doubtful whether there are at present any significant differences in literacy on a barrio basis. Today the contacts between the outlying barrios and the outside is much less mediated through the center. We discovered just as large a percentage of young people from the smaller barrio as from the larger who have gone to study outside of the village. And certainly Redfield's characterization—the smaller as barrios of *tontos*, the larger as barrios of *correctos*—does not apply now.[24]

POPULATION

Tepoztlán had a population of 3,230 according to the Mexican Federal Census of 1940. In 1942 a local census of the village taken by schoolteachers and officials showed a population of 3,517, and by 1947 the population was well over four thousand. It is apparent that the Tepoztecan population, like that of Mexico as a whole, is increasing rapidly.

SIZE AND GROWTH

While we have no exact data on the size of the Tepoztecan population at the time of the Conquest, there is evidence which suggests that it was considerably larger than the present-day population and in fact larger than at any time since the Conquest. The earliest materials from which a reliable population estimate can

[24] For a critical discussion of Redfield's distinction between *tontos* and *correctos*, see Chapter 21, "Summary and Conclusions," p. 430.

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tecans were looking for land buyers. In the summer of 1947, I was approached by three individuals who wanted to sell me a house plot. However, the high price paid by the Mexican banker and a few other early comers gave Tepoztecans an exaggerated notion of the value of their land. House sites which were worth about 100 to 200 pesos in 1927 now would not be sold for less than 10,000 pesos. This has made a few people wealthy, especially those who were fortunate enough to have house sites fronting the new road.

THE LAND PROBLEM

The land problem in Tepoztlán is not a recent phenomenon. It was at least as severe in the twenties, before the *ejido* grants, and it was certainly more acute before the Revolution. Twenty years ago, the 158 families who now have *ejidos* were landless *peones*. Thus, the *ejido* program in Tepoztlán has had at least two beneficial effects. It has reduced the number of landless families, and it has helped some families, who had insufficient land, to increase their holdings. But the *ejido* program has by no means solved the land problem, for 384 families still remain landless and have little prospect of becoming landowners. Although the *ejido* program brought new and more modern agricultural techniques, there is still not a single tractor in Tepoztlán.

It is apparent that our findings on land-ownership in Tepoztlán differ from those in Redfield's earlier study. Redfield did not mention the existence of a land problem or land shortage in Tepoztlán. Although Redfield gives no clear-cut statement on the matter of land-ownership, and treats the entire subject rather incidentally, there is an implication that each family in Tepoztlán owned its own land. Redfield writes, "Most families have at least a small milpa in which the men are active during the seasons of sowing and harvesting."[7] We have shown that in 1944, 64 per cent of the families owned no private land, and there is no reason to believe that the land situation was any better in 1926. Redfield's use of the term "milpa" is perhaps responsible for what appears to be a sharp difference in our findings. He did not distinguish between a privately owned milpa and a milpa of communally owned land. A Tepoztecan speaks of "my milpa" in referring to rented land, communal land, or private land. Unless the investigator probed further, he might well get the impression that all Tepoztecans were landowners.

Redfield conveyed this impression in another connection. In discussing private lands he wrote,

> Characteristically each *sitio* has an appendant milpa which may be located as much as a mile away from the *sitio:* but the two are usually taxed and inherited together. These tracts are not infrequently sold, but most of them have been in the same family for many generations.[8]

This quotation raises a number of questions. First, Tepoztecans distinguish be-

[7] Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, p. 145.
[8] *Ibid*, p. 61.

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tween *sitios urbanos* (urban house sites) and *predios rústicos* (rural parcels), and they are listed separately in the property register. Furthermore, a Tepoztecan who owns only an urban house site is not considered a landowner. This, despite the fact that some *sitios* have sufficient land to plant a patch of corn. Traditionally, the house site milpas are used principally for fresh corn. In 1944, however, less than 20 per cent of all house sites were planted in corn, a lower figure no doubt than that prevailing in 1926; as the population is increasing, the house sites are getting smaller because they are usually divided up for purposes of inheritance.

Second, Redfield's statement concerning the "appendant milpa" may refer to an old pattern which has not existed in the village since long before the Revolution of 1910, and I could find only a vague tradition of it remembered by a few older informants. After some investigation of this point I could not find a single example of a house site in the village with an "appendant milpa." The inheritance pattern that prevails today and that, as far as I was able to determine, has prevailed for a long time would rule out the situation of each house site having an "appendant milpa." It is common practice for the father to divide the inheritance, so that the house site goes to one child and the milpa to another.

It is possible that the conception of Tepoztecans as a landed peasantry was taken up from Redfield by Stuart Chase, who described Tepoztlán as a village with economic security. This is especially ironical in view of the fact that Tepoztlán was in the heart of Zapata country and was one of the first villages in Morelos to join the Revolution which, in this region, was essentially a bitter struggle for the land.

It has become traditional among historians, economists, and sociologists, in writing on the history of the agrarian problem in Mexico, to distinguish between two fundamental types of social and economic organization: the so-called free village and the hacienda. The free village represents the older Indian form of organization, and the hacienda represents the Spanish form. Much of Mexican history has been described as a struggle between these two ways of life. One of the best statements on this situation is the following:

> The stage is set. On the one hand is the institution of private property, already present in its incipient forms in pre-Conquest days, but now, with the importation of the *encomienda*, the *peonía*, and *caballería*, fortified, strengthened, and ready to develop in stature and power until soon it stands full grown as the classic type of landed estate—the hacienda. On the other hand is the landholding, communal village rooted deep in age old custom and tradition and now given life and legal support in the reorganized native pueblo and in the scores of new villages soon to be founded on the Indian model. From this point of view the history of Mexico is, in its most fundamental aspects the drama of the struggle between feudalism and the free village, between the individual private estate and the collective, communal holding-in fine, between the hacienda and the *ejido*. For almost four hundred years it is the hacienda which wins. The victories of the villages are only temporary triumphs; slowly but surely the *ejido* is pushed back and back until by the turn of the twentieth century only in the mountain fastness and in a

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few other isolated areas does it still exist. Finally, and at long last, the tide turns, a new chapter is opened and the *ejido* comes into its own or at least, so it would appear.[9]

There can be little quarrel with this summary of the basic process. I think, however, it is useful to recognize that between the isolated mountain villages, which held on to their own lands and were largely free of hacienda influence, and the landless villages, which were literally swallowed up by the hacienda itself, there was a middle type of village like Tepoztlán, which was marginal to the hacienda area and which maintained most of its communal lands in spite of the impact of the hacienda economy. Tepoztlán lost approximately 2,500 hectares of its 25,000 hectares to the neighboring haciendas. Although Tepoztecan economy was not basically changed by the haciendas, they came to be an important source of added income to Tepoztecans. Tepoztlán was a convenient source of labor supply for many haciendas in the state of Morelos, and Tepoztecans were recruited in large numbers.

In the formulation of Mexican history as a struggle between the hacienda and the free village, there has been an understandable tendency to blacken the former and idealize the latter. It is sometimes assumed that the free villages were organized on a democratic basis and that peasants who lived in these villages automatically had access to the communal lands. As we have seen in the case of Tepoztlán, this was not so. Tepoztlán, before the Revolution of 1910, was a highly stratified society in which the well-to-do *caciques* held political power and prevented the peasants, most of whom were landless peons, from utilizing their own communal lands. We do not know to what extent this situation existed in other regions, and this is a point which deserves investigation.

Another aspect of the tendency to idealize the free village has been the assumption that collective forms of land tenure are accompanied by cooperativeness and a form of collectivism in the economic organization of agriculture. As a matter of fact, Tepoztecans, like most Mexican peasants, are a highly individualistic group of farmers, and there is a minimum of cooperativeness or collectivization in the system of agriculture. The existence of collective forms of land tenure, in the face of this individualism, has been responsible for much bickering between the villages. The coming of the railroad and the subsequent increase in production for the market under a competitive system has further weakened the role of the communal lands as a unifying force.

What light does the Tepoztecan material throw on the working out of the *ejido* program? I think it shows that any evaluation of the *ejido* program in Mexico must carefully distinguish between its effects upon villages which had been landless and those which had retained their communal lands. In villages which had lost their lands, the *ejido* program was obviously a great boon. However, among villages which had retained their communal lands, while the *ejido* helped, it also created new problems.

[9] Simpson, *The Ejido*, p. 15.

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7 *agricultural systems:*

TWO CONTRASTING types of agriculture, representing different historical and technological levels, exist side by side in Tepoztlán. One is the primitive pre-Hispanic cutting and burning system of hoe culture; the other is the more modern post-Hispanic agriculture which uses plow and oxen. The differences between hoe culture (*tlacolol*)[1] and plow culture are not limited merely to the use of different tools; each system has far-reaching social and economic implications.

In Tepoztlán, plow culture and *tlacolol* have been known since the Spanish Conquest. In *tlacolol* the land used is the steep slopes of the *cerros* (Fig. 21) and

Fig. 21. Land used in hoe culture is steep, rocky, and wooded.

[1] This type of agriculture has been variously referred to in the literature as milpa agriculture, fire agriculture, slashing and burning, cutting and burning, etc. The use of the term "milpa agriculture," which was applied originally by O. F. Cook in his study of the Mayan area—"Milpa Agriculture, a Tropical System," *Smithsonian Institution Annual Report*, 1919—has established an unfortunate tradition, for the word "milpa" in Mexico refers to any cornfield whether in hoe culture or plow culture.

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The harvesting of corn, like all other operations in agriculture, is done on an individual family basis, with hired help if necessary. There is a minimum of labor exchange and cooperation. Our findings differ from those of Redfield. Redfield writes:

> The men always work in groups; the owner of the field has asked them to help him—it it is *cuatequitl*—and then when their fields are ripe he will help them harvest. These are social occasions. Each group has *la muleta*, "the little mule"—a bottle of alcohol hidden under a pile of corn. The preparation of their dinner is also done cooperatively at the house of the owner of the field, and this is a social occasion for the women. They carry the dinner to the fields for the men. The owner of the fields supplies the food and drink. But there the cooperative harvesting ends, for the removal of the grain is done separately in each individual house, each member of the family taking a hand.[18]

This account refers to a type of cooperation which does not now exist in Tepoztlán, and our informants did not remember its having existed in 1926 or even before the Revolution of 1910. Corn is shelled by both men and women. Women generally shell corn by hand in small quantities for daily use in the house and for small-scale trade. Large-scale shelling by the *carga* is generally done by the men who use an *elotero*, which is made of dry corncobs bound together in the form of a flat disc, over which the corn to be shelled is rubbed. Some use the black volcanic rock from the *texcal* for shelling. However, the corn selected for seed is shelled by hand by the men. Women of the two upper barrios of San Pedro and Los Reyes frequently shell corn on a large scale, whereas in the larger, center barrios, large-scale shelling is considered a man's work. In many cases *peones* are hired for this job. The shelled corn is stored in sacks, for the most part, although there are still a few of the old *cuescomatl*. (See Fig. 28.) Many families put the skeleton of a dog's head or a piece of *ocote* wood and lime in the sacks or the *cuescomatl* to protect the corn against spoilage. Formerly when *cuescomatls* were made, the priest would be called to bless them. There is a belief that when a death occurs, the corn in the house or on the house site will be more subject to the ravages of insects.

The loss of stored corn from insects is one of the serious problems faced by Tepoztecans. Many farmers complain that they lose a few *cargas* a year in this fashion. It is rare to find corn that lasts through to August without being seriously damaged by corn worms. Tepoztecans have still received little help with this problem from Mexican agronomists.

An old tradition persists in the village to the effect that the boa constrictor was formerly used to prevent stealing of corn from the cornfields and the granary. It is said that the snake was fed salt and *tequesquite* by the owner of the field, and that thereafter the snake would frighten all strangers by climbing up the cornstalk and making a whistling noise. These snakes were apparently tame and did not harm the owner, but would attack strangers. There seems to have been some

[18] Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, pp. 126-27.

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174 the legendary hero, Tepoztecatl, who fought against Zochicalco and then adopted the worship of the god Quetzalcoatl. Topiltzin then went north to avenge the death of his father. It was he who transferred the Toltec capital from Colhuacan to Tula.[11] The Toltecs held power until 1168 when their ruler Huemac was defeated. But Toltec groups continued on, and not until their defeat by the Chichimecas in 1246 was the Toltec empire smashed.[12] In 1296 the conquest of the valley of Morelos by the Chichimecas began.

From the fall of the Toltec Empire until 1437 we have no references to Tepoztlán. In historical references to the first Aztec domination of the valley of Morelos by Acamapichtli in 1375, Cuauhnahuac, Mazatepec, Xochitepec, Zacatepec, Xiutepec, and Çhiautla are mentioned as conquered towns, but not Tepoztlán.[13] Since Tepoztlán was still an independent seigniory at the time, this seems significant. Oaxtepec which continued to be inhabited by Xochimilca was also not conquered.[14] Again in 1386 when the peoples of what is now Morelos joined against the Matlazincas, Tepoztlán is not mentioned. Similarly, in the second Aztec invasion of the valley of Morelos by Huitzilhuitl, there is no reference to Tepoztlán in the list of conquered tribes.[15] The first notice of the Aztec domination of Tepoztlán is in 1437 when Moctezuma Ilhuicamina took Oaxtepec, Yautepec, Tepoztlán, Yecapixtla, and Totolapa.[16]

The Codex Aubin-Goupil tells that in 1487 new "kings" were installed in Cuauhnahuac, Tepoztlán, Huaxtepec, and Xilotepec.[17] Finally, the glyphs on the ruined temple just above the village shows the name of Ahuitztol, an Aztec war chief, who ruled about 1502.[18]

From the above data it appears that by the time of the Spanish Conquest, Tepoztlán had been subject to Aztec domination for less than one hundred years.[19] It was

[11] Muller, *La Historia Vieja*, p. 155; and Jiménez Moreno in Lhuillier's *Guía Arqueológica*, p. 14.
[12] Jiménez Moreno, in Lhuillier's *Guía Arqueológica*, p. 14.
[13] Muller, *La Historia Vieja*, p. 168.
[14] Fernando de Alva Ixtlixochitl, *Obras Históricas*, I (Mexico, 1891), 141.
[15] Muller, *La Historia Vieja*, p. 167.
[16] *Ibid*, p. 168; see also Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, p. 23.
[17] Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, p. 24. He bases this on Edward Seler's statement in his article, "Die Tempelpyramide von Tepoztlán," *Globus*, LXXIII, No. 8 (Feb., 1898), 123-29.
[18] *Ibid*.
[19] Redfield, probably following Plancarte, identified the Tepoztecans at the time of the Conquest as members of the Tlahuica, one of the seven tribes which invaded the valley of Mexico and Morelos. The other tribes were the Xochimilca, Chalca, Tepaneca, Acolhua, Tlaxcalteca, and Azteca. Redfield wrote, "Tepoztlán was a *pueblo* of the Tlahuica, one of the last Náhuatl speaking tribes that made up the last immigration south to the plateau region before the coming of the Spaniards." *Ibid*., p. 23. This would make Tepoztecans relatively recent residents of Morelos and does not agree with other data. It should be noted that the Dominican Padre Durán lists Tepoztlán as one of the Xochimilca tribes and he places the Xochimilca as the first Nahua group to enter the valley of Mexico and later spill over into Morelos. (Fray Diego Durán, *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España y las Islas de Tierra Firme*, I (Mexico, 1867), 9-11.) According to Durán the Xochimilcas entered the valley of Mexico a few hundred years before the Tlahuicas. This identification of Tepoztlán with the Xochimilcas would perhaps be more consistent with the tradition of the constant warfare between Tepoztlán and Cuernavaca, since the latter was clearly of Tlahuica affiliation.

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shawls, and skirts; men use black and grey serapes; pottery is invariably of unadorned clay. Although *rebosos* of many colors and patterns are easily available in Cuernavaca, there is hardly a Tepoztecan woman or girl who wears anything but a dark blue, brown, grey, or black *rebozo*. The desire to be inconspicuous and less easily identifiable is one of the underlying reasons for this choice. There is also a belief that it is dangerous to wear bright colors, because the rainbow is attracted to them and will follow them.

There is a marked quality of detachment in inter-personal relations in Tepoztlán. Although living side by side, Tepoztecans communicate little of their innermost thoughts, aspirations, fears, likes, and dislikes and, for the most part, remain strangers to one another.[2] While a man may know a great deal about most of his neighbors in a small barrio, and about some in other barrios, and may know them as so-called whole persons, that is, in their various roles as parents, neighbors, godparents, *mayordomos*, or farmers, what is known are the relatively superficial aspects of personality only. Tepoztecans are a practical people concerned with external behavior, and they judge others by actions rather than by attitudes, ideas, or inner life.

When a Tepoztecan is asked to describe the personality of another, the most frequently used terms for positive traits are "hard worker," "serious," "manly," "intelligent," "honorable," "good person," and "good humored." The most commonly pointed out negative traits are "liar," "foolish," "stingy," "drunkard," "talkative," "coward," "crazy," "bad tempered," and "miserable." Traits which imply knowledge about the internal life and quality of an individual, such as "warm" or "cold," "imaginative" or "unimaginative," "sensitive" or "hard," "sympathetic" or "unsympathetic," etc., are significantly absent.

Like many peasant peoples, Tepoztecans are not introspective. They have little insight in understanding their own character and even less of others. There is little interest in or need for self-revelation, mutual confidences, confession, or lengthy conversation; imaginativeness, fantasy life, originality, initiative, and individuality are either undeveloped or suppressed. Always, the emphasis is upon conformity to traditional ways.[3]

The general restraint and constriction which characterize most inter-personal relations are also seen in the relations between the sexes and in the prevailing atti-

[2] Sol Tax has called attention to the impersonality of relations between traders in the Guatemalan highlands. See his "World View and Social Relations in Guatemala," *American Anthropologist*, 43 (1941), pp. 22-42.

[3] I should like to call attention to some of the implications of the above for the traditional distinction made by many sociologists between folk and urban society in terms of primary and secondary relationships. This distinction assumes that in the folk society, which is a small society, most relations are of a face-to-face type and therefore of an intimate nature, in contrast to the impersonal and superficial relationships in the city. The point is that, within the category of primary relationships, the range in the quality of these relationships may be so great as to require finer distinctions. Certainly, for purposes of cultural and psychological analysis, the folk urban dichotomy is inadequate in that it lumps together societies which are very different. See also Chapter 21, "Summary and Conclusions," p. 433.

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the behavior of public figures, is directly related to many of the characteristics described previously.

Is the social character of Tepoztlán unique to Tepoztlán, or is it typical of other rural Mexican communities? A definitive answer must wait until we have seen more culture and personality studies than are now available. Indeed, the study of inter-personal relations in rural Mexico and other parts of Central America is still in its infancy.[8] Nevertheless, some of the existing monographs give us considerable insight and make some comparisons possible.

George Foster, in his monograph on the Tarascan village of Tzintzuntzan, writes as follows about the people:

> The collectivistic aspects of rural and Indian Mexican life have been stressed in many studies of Mexico, and much recent Government planning, such as the development of the *ejidos*, has been predicated on the assumption that this is a dominant characteristic of rural peoples. In Tzintzuntzan one is struck, not with the collectivistic but rather with the strong tradition of individualistic attitudes. . . .[9]
>
> Self-criticism is an unknown virtue—if such it is—and failure is always due to elements beyond one's control; the weather, bad luck, the unscrupulousness of other persons, but never is it the fault of the individual himself. . . .[10]
>
> Mistrust, suspicion, and fear are the common reactions to new persons or situations. One tends to jump to conclusions, to suspect the worst rather than the best about both old friends and new. In any new social relationship it is assumed that the other person is trying to get the better of one. . . .[11]
>
> . . . the possibility of material success is so limited by ecological and economic factors that few persons can ever expect to get far ahead . . . the wealth goal is difficult and almost impossible of attainment; hence, the stimulus of a reasonable chance of success is lacking. Since one's own life is so much a series of frustrations one takes pleasure in noting the difficulties of neighbors, even though . . . it is a case of biting off the nose to spite the face. Consciously or unconsciously the average Tzintzuntenyo realizes that in a material way he probably never will advance far. Hence, he envies, criticizes, and abuses his rare neighbor who does so, meanwhile further neglecting his own work.[12]

All of this applies accurately to Tepoztlán.

Elsie Clews Parsons, in her monograph on the Zapotecan town of Mitla, gives us a summary of Mitla character in a discussion of what traits are Indian and what are Spanish. Again we find many similarities in Tepoztlán. She writes,

> Psychological analysis I cannot attempt, as this study is cultural rather than psychological, but on occasion I have referred to psychological attitudes which have appeared to me

[8] There are very few studies of Mexican national character. The Mexican philosopher, Samuel Ramos, has made a pioneer effort in his *El Perfil del Hombre y la Cultura en México*. Mexico, 1938. Ramos believes that feelings of inferiority are the basic traits of the Mexican character. Findings in Tepoztlán do not bear this out.

[9] Foster, *Empire's Children*, p. 287.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 287-88.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 288.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 289.

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Care during pregnancy consists principally of massages of the abdomen by the midwife. The general purpose of the massage is to make the birth easier and to determine the position of the fetus. Midwives say they can change the position of the fetus if necessary by means of massage. Faith in the importance of massage is widespread, and there are few who do not take massages regularly. Newly married women often begin to take massages during the second or third month, but others do not begin until they feel movement. Since there is an additional charge of fifty centavos (in 1943, the price ranged from twelve to twenty-five centavos) for each massage, there are many women who cannot afford to take them until the eighth or ninth month. Sometimes the husband will object to the number of massages his wife takes, and there may be quarrels. Massages are given every eight or fifteen days, depending upon when they are started and what the pregnant woman can afford. The patient lies down, with knees slightly bent, and the midwife gently massages the abdomen from right to left.[4] No oils or unguents are used.

Some say they can predict the sex of the baby by its position in the womb. If it is to one side, [illegible] hip, it will be a boy; if it is in the middle, it will be a girl. If the fetus feels round, a girl is indicated; and if it feels elongated, it is a boy. If the mother looks sleepy and if her face is white, the child will be a boy, because boys are more "demanding" and make their mothers pale. If she is red-cheeked, the child will be a girl. However, some informants believe just the opposite and say that red cheeks indicate a boy because boys are more robust. If the mother becomes fatter all around, including the hips, it will be a girl; if she protrudes only in front, it will be a boy. It is also believed that a boy is born after nine months and a girl after eight months.

The midwife advises the pregnant woman concerning self-care. She is not to lift heavy objects but should continue to work because it makes the delivery easier. It is believed that a woman who is lazy and who sleeps often during pregnancy will have a difficult birth because the fetus adheres to the womb. Pregnant women should not urinate where an animal has just urinated because the rising steam may cause inflammation of the womb. Pregnant women are also advised not to bathe in the stream, since *los aires* may endanger the baby and cause it to be born with physical defects.[5] It is also said that bathing in the stream may cause the pregnant woman to fill up with water. Although pregnant women sometimes continue to use the stream to wash clothes, this also is considered unwise. Some say that pregnant women should not bathe more than once a week for fear of catching cold, but many women bathe every three days in warm or cold water, according to preference.

1945. In Cherán, in 1940, the cost of delivery was from 1½ to 2½ pesos. See Ralph L. Beals, *Cherán, A Sierra Tarascan Village*, Institute of Social Anthropology Publ. No. 2 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1946), p. 166.

[4] Foster describes the massage in Tzintzuntzan as "heavy pummeling" and attributes the many miscarriages to this.

[5] Redfield's informant said, "After three months she [the pregnant woman] goes to the *barranca* [stream] to bathe. She may do this many times before the birth." According to our data, although some women do it, this is generally regarded as undesirable.

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844 759 626 world would I let a man doctor take care of me. It is better that the child be born alone." This attitude, encouraged by the midwives, is very widespread, even among women who have lived outside the village or who have had more education.

POSTNATAL CARE

844 846 When the delivery is over, the mother is lifted onto a board and up to the bed or *tepexco*, if she uses either of these. If there is no one to lift her, she may get up herself without danger, for she is still "hot." She is wrapped in a sheet to prevent getting *mal aires*. The midwife binds the mother around the abdomen and tucks in a *muñeca*, a piece of rolled up cloth. The purpose of this *muñeca*, which is placed over the abdomen so as to bring pressure upon it, is to "fix the matrix." As far as we could ascertain, there is no magical or symbolic qualities connected with this *muñeca*, and there is little attempt to make it resemble a doll.[13] Clean cloths which are washed and replaced every day by the girl's mother or mother-in-law are placed between the patient's legs. Her soiled clothing is removed and she is given an old-fashioned *huipil* made from a large square cloth and slipped over her head. A skirt, made from a large cloth, is wrapped around her hips and legs. The mother is not bathed until the next day, for she is still "hot." After a bath of warm water she is dressed in clean clothing. The temporary *huipil* and skirt are then used as diapers for the baby. The mother is not completely bathed again until the first *temascal* or sweatbath.

The baby is wiped with clean old rags and is bound with a strip of cloth, doubled over the umbilicus and tied with a string. Some mothers prepare a belt for this purpose. The child is wrapped in warmed cloths, usually cut from his father's old [278] shirt or pants. Some midwives drop lemon juice into the baby's eyes and give him a spoonful of castor oil as a purgative. The child is not washed until the following day because water will chill him.

846 262 The mother's diet for five days after the birth is poor and provides little nutrition. She is given cinnamon and water and a roll soon after the birth. If she has after-pains she is given honey and alcohol. At the next mealtime she eats toasted meat and tortilla, and for the next five days her diet consists of *atole*, cinnamon tea, and rolls. Some women take only cinnamon tea, tortilla, a small piece of cheese, and warm water during this period. Milk, coffee, and chocolate are thought dangerous when taken alone because they "chill" the ovaries, but some of the more modern women take a little coffee with milk. All food restrictions cease when the woman

[13] Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, pp. 136-37. Redfield states, "She [the midwife] makes a doll of rags and ties this against the patient's abdomen." According to Redfield, this doll is removed forty days later at the time of the *sacamiso* and "on that day the rag doll symbolizing the child in the womb is taken from its place on the mother's abdomen." Although we made repeated inquiries among women of all ages and degrees of sophistication we could find nothing which would justify this interpretation of the symbolism of the so-called doll. The "doll" is actually a wad of cloth placed under the binding or sash in order to bring more pressure upon the abdomen. Many women wear this "doll" for months after childbirth, or even after they are past childbearing age because they are more comfortable with it. It is of interest to note that the use of the "doll" in this way was not mentioned in the monographs on Tzintzuntzan, Cherán, Mitla, or Chan Kom.

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is "clean," that is, when bleeding stops. This sometimes occurs in the first week but more often in the second. After delivery it is obligatory to give the midwife something to eat as an expression of appreciation, but it is up to the family to decide what is given. Generally the midwife is offered chocolate or coffee and bread. Sometimes wine and cigarettes are also given. During and after the delivery, the midwife is not restricted in any way as to the food she may eat.[13]

The mother's milk generally flows after one or two days, sometimes even before the birth. If the milk does not appear by the second day, some midwives give the mother an *atole* of sesame seed, chick peas, chocolate, and cinnamon. Others give *necuatole* or *atole de alegría* made of ground corn, *chile pasilla*, *epazote*, and brown sugar. Another remedy is the penis of an ox, cut up and cooked. Sometimes the *flor de pascua* is boiled and taken by the mother. A few midwives place the baby at the mother's breast to stimulate the flow of milk. Many babies are nursed at another woman's breast until the mother's milk comes. During the day the wet nurse, usually a relative or a friend, comes to the child's house every three or four hours to nurse him. At night the child is taken to the wet nurse once or twice by the father or grandmother. There is no charge for the services of the wet nurse, but often the child's family sends her some meat to nourish her during this time. Some families are afraid to take a young infant out because of *los aires*, and it is fed cinnamon and water until the mother's milk begins to flow.

It is a common belief that the first milk is harmful to the infant and should be discarded. It is squeezed out and either thrown to the ground (this is called *motlalstoka*, burying the first milk), or it is thrown over the roof (*monokia*) to prevent the mother's milk from going away. It is also thought that squeezing out the first milk hastens the flow of the true milk. If the mother has no milk, it is considered a calamity because the cost of a regular wet nurse is prohibitive, and many children die when put on a diet of cow's milk. Canned milk is now used safely but the expense is a heavy burden for most families.

The amount of attention and care given to the new mother in Tepoztlán is striking. At no other time are women accorded so much service and time for rest. This care consists of a prolonged period in bed, freedom from household duties, taking sweatbaths, and abstention from sexual intercourse.

The prime motive underlying this postnatal care is to delay a new pregnancy as long as possible. It is believed that early resumption of sexual intercourse causes the back to weaken and the menstrual flow to begin, thus making conception more probable. Women say that extended rest from work and sexual intercourse can

[13] We could find nothing to support Redfield's statements that "The midwife is magician-priest rather than obstetrician; she eats the same food as her patient as long as their relation of intimacy is maintained during postnatal care . . . during the first week, the new mother and the midwife, who must eat the same food as her patient, observe food restrictions." *Ibid.*, pp. 134, 136. Our questions concerning this called forth the same response from informants in Mitla; that is, they laughed at the thought and denied that it occurred. It should be noted that Redfield's account of the above, as well as other aspects of pregnancy and birth, is based on the report of a single informant and probably represents an individual variation.

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21 *summary and conclusions:*

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THIS STUDY represents one of the few restudies of a community, in the field of anthropology. The reader who is familiar with the earlier study of Tepoztlán by Robert Redfield will want to know how our findings compare. Such a comparison is made here, not only for a better understanding of Tepoztlán, but also for its broader implications for anthropological method and theory. The questions are: To what extent and in what ways do the results obtained from the independent study of the same society by two anthropologists differ? What are the implications of such differences concerning the reliability and validity of anthropological reporting?

Anthropologists, who like to think that there is an element of science in the social sciences, including anthropology, have often called primitive societies the "laboratory" of the social scientists, where hypotheses about the nature of man and society can be tested. While the experiments and observations of the natural scientist are generally repeated and checked independently by different observers, the reports of anthropologists have to be accepted on their face value, and their reliability has to be judged in terms of the respect for and confidence in the author's integrity, the inner consistency of his work, and the extent to which it agrees with one's own preconceptions.[1] If the analogy with the natural sciences is to be taken seriously, we must develop methods for checking the reliability of our observations and the validity of interpretation. Restudy is one such method. This point has been recognized by a number of anthropologists,[2] but to date there have been very few

[1] In view of the increasing and often uncritical use which other social scientists have been making of anthropological data, the problem of reliability assumes much importance. Of course, in these times, when anthropologists are bravely writing about entire nations, it may seem downright heresy to suggest that there is still room for a critical reexamination of some of the methods and approaches used in the studies of the so-called simpler societies. And yet I am certain that many anthropologists and non-anthropologists alike have felt such a need. Bierstedt, for example, in his criticism of some recent anthropological studies of modern communities and nations has suggested that these studies have stimulated "the growth of scepticism concerning the information which anthropologists have given us about non-literate peoples." See Robert Bierstedt, "The Limitations of Anthropological Methods in Sociology," *American Sociological Review*, LIV (1948), 22–30.

[2] Linton, in discussing the difficulties in studying the covert aspects of culture and the danger

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114 121 restudies.[5] The reasons for this are many. Perhaps most important have been the limited funds for field research, the time pressure of studying tribes who were rapidly becoming extinct, the shortage of field workers, the greater appeal in studying a community never before studied, and finally, the lack of emphasis upon methodology.

COMPARISON WITH REDFIELD'S FINDINGS

As has already been pointed out, our study of Tepoztlán was not originally intended as a restudy of Redfield's work but rather as a continuation of it. When the study was begun I did not anticipate that there would be any fundamental differences between our findings. In the course of the work, however, many differences did emerge. These differences range from discrepancies in factual details to differences in the over-all view of Tepoztecan society and its people. Many of the differences have been discussed in the earlier sections of this work. Here I will sum up some of the broader and more fundamental differences in the findings of the two studies.

114 182 578 The impression given by Redfield's study of Tepoztlán is that of a relatively homogeneous, isolated, smoothly functioning, and well-integrated society made up of a contented and well-adjusted people. His picture of the village has a Rousseauan quality which glosses lightly over evidence of violence, disruption, cruelty, disease,

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involved in making generalizations on the basis of the limited sampling used by most anthropologists, writes, "The only check on such potential sources of error which is possible at the present time is to have each society studied by several investigators. These investigators should work independently and should be as diverse in their own personality configurations as possible." Linton, *Cultural Background*, p. 40.

The need for independent restudies was also suggested in 1933 by Radin, who wrote, "It cannot be too strongly stressed not only that the field ethnologist collects the facts but that his description is most likely to remain the final picture of a given culture, from which no appeal can be made. What more natural than that this semidivine function which has been thrust upon him should make him feel that the facts are peculiarly his, obtained by the sweat of his brow. For any one to question them is not merely an impertinence but a direct aspersion upon his character and veracity. This attitude, particularly prevalent in the United States, that the specific field of inquiry represents an ethnologist's private preserve wherein no one else may hunt has done inestimable harm and frequently has meant that a tribe has been described by only one person. It has sometimes been contended that the dangers attendant upon a tribe's being described by one person have been exaggerated, that, somehow, a description proves itself." Paul Radin, *The Method and Theory of Ethnology* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933), pp. 102–04.

To my knowledge, Margaret Mead is the only modern anthropologist who has expressed serious doubts about the advisability and usefulness of restudies. For her statement, see "The Mountain Arapesh," *Anthropological Papers of American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. 41, Pt. 3 (1949), pp. 296–97.

[5] Many tribes and villages have been studied by more than one investigator, but in most cases the studies have been what might be called additive rather than restudies of the earlier work. In addition there have been restudies by the same investigators, for example, Lynds' *Middletown In Transition* and more recently Redfield's *A Village That Chose Progress*. A field team of husband and wife gives us some independence of observation, and in fact may lead to quite different interpretations. Compare, for example, Reo F. Fortune's impressions of the Arapesh with Mead's.

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suffering, and maladjustment. We are told little of poverty, economic problems, or political schisms. Throughout his study we find an emphasis upon the cooperative and unifying factors in Tepoztecan society. Our findings, on the other hand, would emphasize the underlying individualism of Tepoztecan institutions and character, the lack of cooperation, the tensions between villages within the municipio, the schisms within the village, and the pervading quality of fear, envy, and distrust in inter-personal relations.

Now let us consider some of these differences in more detail. Redfield's account of Tepoztlán stresses the role of the communal lands as a unifying factor within the village and the municipio. While this is certainly true it is only part of the story. With the single exception of church lands, communal lands were and are individually operated, and the ideal of every Tepoztecan is to own his private plot of land. Furthermore, the communal lands have been a source of inter-village quarrels, and during the year that Redfield was in Tepoztlán these quarrels resulted in violence. Similarly, Redfield gives the impression that the *cuatequitl*, a traditional form of collective labor, was part and parcel of village life. He described a *cuatequitl* which occurred during his stay as if it were a common and regular occurrence. As a matter of fact, it was the first village *cuatequitl* of importance since the Revolution, and there have been very few subsequent ones. The particular *cuatequitl* which Redfield observed was due to the curious circumstance whereby a local, socialistically oriented political faction, directed from Mexico City by a group of Tepoztecans who were members of the Confederación Regional de Obreros Mexicanos, locally known as the Bolsheviki, revived the traditional *cuatequitl*. Before the Revolution, the village *cuatequitl* was not viewed simply as a voluntary, cooperative endeavor but was also associated with forced labor and imposition by the local *cacique* groups which ruled the village during the Díaz regime. In the colonial period the Spaniards similarly utilized the traditional *cuatequitl* as a source of labor. In short, Redfield's account of the cooperative aspects of village life needs to be modified somewhat in the light of other data.

Redfield portrayed Tepoztlán as a community of landowners and did not mention a land problem. But we found that over fifty per cent of the villagers did not own private land, and that there was an acute shortage of good land and considerable population pressure in the face of dwindling agricultural resources. Redfield gave a rather glowing picture of Tepoztlán during the Díaz regime as having reached a period of great cultural florescence, but he failed to point out that this was limited to only a few Tepoztecans, and that the vast majority of Tepoztecans were illiterate, desperately poor, landless, and living under an oppressive political regime which forbade them to utilize their own communal resources. In this connection it is interesting to note that Tepoztlán was one of the first villages in the state of Morelos to join the Zapatista revolt against the Díaz regime. Redfield apparently viewed the Mexican Revolution as having had the effect of halting the tendency for

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the merging of social class differences,[4] but we found that the Revolution had a marked leveling influence, economically, socially, and culturally.

Redfield presented only the positive and formal aspects of inter-personal relations, such as forms of greeting and the respect-relations of *compadres;* he failed to deal with some of the negative and disruptive aspects of village life, such as the fairly high incidence of stealing, quarrels, and physical violence. An examination of the local records revealed that in the year that Redfield lived in the village there were 175 reported cases of crimes and misdemeanors in the local court. Most of these cases were offenses against persons and property. Since not all cases reach the local authorities, this number is indicative of considerable conflict.

Redfield described local politics as a game, but we found that politics was a very serious affair which frequently led to violence. The year Redfield was there, the political schisms culminated in open violence bordering on civil war, and it was this situation which finally resulted in Redfield's leaving the village.

Another important difference between our findings concerns Redfield's delineation of the social structure of the village in terms of what he called the *tontos,* or representatives of folk culture, and the *correctos,* or representatives of city ways. It should be pointed out that Tepoztecans do not conceive of these terms as designations of social classes, in the sense used by Redfield, nor did they twenty years ago. Tepoztecans use the words as descriptive adjectives, with *tonto* meaning stupid, backward, foolish, or ignorant, and with *correcto* meaning well-mannered, well-bred, proper, or correct. The poorest, least educated, and most conservative man may be *correcto* to a Tepoztecan if he is polite and behaves in the accepted manner. Similarly, a well-educated, acculturated man may be called *tonto* if he permits himself to be fooled by others or dominated by his wife. Within any one family, some of the members may be considered *tonto* and others *correcto,* depending almost entirely upon personality traits and manners.

But granting that the degree of exposure to and influence of city ways is an important criterion in making for status differences in Tepoztlán, it is by no means the only one, and certainly not the most significant one in terms of the actual operation of the many status distinctions in the village. Among status distinctions which were then, and are today, more meaningful to Tepoztecans are those of rich and poor, landowners and landless, owners of private lands and holders of *ejidos, ejidatarios* and *comuneros,* farmers in hoe culture and farmers in plow culture, sons of *caciques* and sons of ex-Zapatistas, to mention but a few.

Furthermore, the concept of *tontos* and *correctos,* as social classes representing different cultural levels, led to misunderstanding of the local political situation. The opposing political factions in the village during Redfield's stay were not composed of *tontos* on the one side and *correctos* on the other. The leaders on both sides included highly acculturated and little acculturated individuals, as did the members

[4] In discussing the *tontos* and *correctos,* he writes, "The periodic Revolutions afford, it would seem, a mechanism whereby the difference between the classes is from time to time re-emphasized and the tendency for them to merge is checked." Redfield, *Tepoztlán,* p. 205.

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at large. A study of the personnel of each of the local government administrations (*ayuntamientos*) from 1926 to 1947 gives no support to Redfield's statement that politics, like the religious fiestas, are in the hands of the *tontos*.

The use of the terms *"tonto"* and *"correcto"* to designate social groups, which did not and do not exist and operate as such, makes much of Redfield's analysis of Tepoztecan society oversimplified, schematic, and unreal. We found a much wider range of custom and belief among the so-called *"tontos"* than was reported by Redfield, and by the same token there was less of a gap between the *tontos* and *correctos*. While Redfield's concept would tend to make for two cultures, we see Tepoztlán as a single culture, with more and less acculturated individuals in close and frequent contact, each influencing the other, as they have for the past four hundred years.

IMPLICATIONS OF OUR DIFFERENCES

More important than the differences in our findings is the question of how to explain these differences. I suppose that in a sense it is inevitable that different students studying the same society will arrive at different conclusions. Certainly the personal factor, and what Redfield has recently referred to as the element of art in social science, cannot be overlooked.[5] Nevertheless the differences in our findings on Tepoztlán are of such magnitude as to demand some further and more detailed explanation.

Some of the differences in our data can be explained by changes which have occurred in the village in the interim of nearly twenty years between our studies. These changes have already been outlined in an earlier publication[6] and are discussed throughout this book. Other differences result from the difference in the general scope of the two studies. This study had the advantage of having Redfield's pioneer work to start with, the assistance of Mexican personnel, more than twice the amount of time for field work, and the development, during the past twenty years, of new approaches and methods, especially in the field of culture and personality. The much greater emphasis upon economic analysis in this study also reflects a fairly recent trend in anthropology. In addition, the fact that this study was based on the testimony of well over one hundred informants, as compared to about a half-dozen used by Redfield, revealed a wide range of individual differences and enabled more thorough checking of data.

Still other differences, such as those summarized in the preceding pages, must be attributed for the most part to differences in theoretical orientation and methodology which in turn influenced the selection and coverage of facts and the way in which these facts were organized. In rereading Redfield's study in the light of my

[5] Some sociologists like Mannheim would go even farther. He writes, "It could be shown in all cases that not only do fundamental orientations, evaluations, and the content of ideas differ, but that the manner of stating a problem, the sort of approach made, and even the categories in which experiences are subsumed, collected and ordered, vary according to the social position of the observer." Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia* (London: Kegan Paul, 1936), p. 13.

[6] See Lewis, "Social and Economic Changes in a Mexican Village," *América Indígena*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (October, 1944).

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own work in the village, it seems to me that the concept of the folk-culture and folk-urban continuum was Redfield's organizing principle in the research. Perhaps this helps to explain his emphasis on the formal and ritualistic aspects of life rather than the everyday life of the people and their problems, on evidence of homogeneity rather than heterogeneity and the range of custom, on the weight of tradition rather than deviation and innovation, on unity and integration rather than tensions and conflict.

Redfield's interest was primarily in the study of a single cultural process: the evolution from folk to urban, rather than a well-rounded ethnographic account. He only incidentally considered Tepoztlán in its historical, geographical, and cultural context in Morelos and Mexico, and attempted rather to place Tepoztlán within the broader, more abstract context of the folk-urban continuum.

The questions he asked of his data were quite different from those asked in this study. For example, unlike the present study, he was not concerned with determining just what Tepoztlán is typical of in relation to rural Mexico; nor was he concerned with determining how a study of Tepoztlán might reveal some of the underlying characteristics and problems of Mexico as a whole. Thus, the Revolution in Tepoztlán is not analyzed in terms of its social, economic, and political effects upon the village, nor in terms of what light it might throw upon the nature of the Revolution as a whole, but rather in regard to the more limited question of the emergence of Zapata as a "folk hero."

CRITIQUE OF REDFIELD'S CONCEPT OF FOLK-URBAN CONTINUUM

Since the concept of the folk society as an ideal type is, after all, a matter of definition,[7] there can be no quarrel with it as such, provided that it can be shown to have heuristic value. On the basis of our study of Tepoztlán, however, I should like to point out a number of limitations I have found in the conceptual framework of the folk-urban continuum, both as a scheme for the study of culture change and for cultural analysis. These criticisms can be discussed under six related points.

(1) The folk-urban conceptualization of social change focuses attention primarily on the city as the source of change, to the exclusion or neglect of other factors of an internal or external nature. So-called folk societies have been influencing each other for hundreds of years and out of such inter-action has come cultural change. As we have seen, the archaeological record in Tepoztlán, as well as in other parts of Mexico, indicates quite clearly a great mingling of peoples and cultures, which dates back at least a thousand years before the Spanish Conquest. Tepoztlán itself

[7] It should be noted that Redfield's use of the term "folk" and "folk society" has not always been consistent. In the study of Tepoztlán, he used it sometimes in a non-technical and popular sense, as when he speaks of folk dances, folk music, and folklore. (Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, p. 173.) But for the most part he defines the folk society as an intermediate stage between the truly primitive tribe and the urban community. This position was also taken in his article on "The Folk Society and Culture" in 1940. But in 1947, in another article ("The Folk Society," *American Journal of Sociology*, p. 293) he sets up the folk society as an ideal type which includes the primitive tribal society.

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was first conquered by the Toltecs and later by the Aztecs, and with each conquest came new influences, new religious ideas, and new customs.

Another example of non-urban factors in culture change can be seen in the case of Tepoztlán and other parts of Latin America, where the introduction of rural culture elements was at least as far reaching in effect as any changes brought about by later urban influences. Similarly, we find that the Mexican Agrarian Revolution (particularly in its Zapatista phase) was a profound influence for change, but can hardly be classified as an urban influence. It is evident that the folk-urban continuum concept deals with only one of a wide variety of situations which may lead to culture change.[8] In the case of Tepoztlán, to study the urban factors alone would give us only a partial picture of culture change.

(2) It follows that in many instances culture change may not be a matter of a folk-urban progression, but rather an increasing or decreasing heterogeneity of culture elements. For example, we have seen that the incorporation of Spanish rural elements, such as the plow, oxen, plants, and many folk beliefs, did not make Tepoztlán more urban, but rather gave it a more varied rural culture. The introduction of plow culture in Tepoztlán did not eliminate the older system of hoe culture but gave the Tepoztecans an alternative and, in some ways, more efficient method of farming, making for greater heterogeneity in the economic life and in the forms of social relationships.

(3) Some of the criteria used in the definition of the folk society are treated by Redfield as linked or interdependent variables, but might better be treated as independent variables. Sol Tax, in his study of Guatemalan societies, has shown that societies can be both culturally well organized and homogeneous and, at the same time, highly secular, individualistic, and commercialistic.[9] He has also shown that inter-personal relations in a small and homogeneous society can be characterized by formalism and impersonality. His findings are supported by our Tepoztecan study. Moreover, our study shows other possible combinations of variables. Thus, whereas Tax found family disorganization as a concomitant of commercialism, in Tepoztlán the family remains strong, and there is little evidence of family disorganization. Moreover, collective forms of land tenure exist side by side with private land ownership and individual working of the land.

(4) The typology involved in the folk-urban classification of societies tends to obscure one of the most significant findings of modern cultural anthropology, namely, the wide range in the ways of life and in the value systems among so-called primitive peoples. The folk society as used by Redfield would group together food-gathering, hunting, pastoral, and agricultural peoples, without distinction.[10] Simi-

[8] Becker's recent elaboration of his sacred-secular dichotomy, each with numerous subtypes, gives us a much broader typology embracing a wider range of culture change situations. Howard Becker, "Sacred and Secular Societies," *Social Forces*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (May, 1950), pp. 361–75.

[9] Tax, "Culture and Civilization in Guatemalan Societies," *Scientific Monthly*, XLVIII (May, 1939), 463–67; and "World View and Social Relations in Guatemala," *American Anthropologist*, 43 (1941), 22–42.

[10] To apply the term "folk society" to high cultures like that of the Aztecs (Tepoztlán was

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larly, it would put into one category societies which are as different culturally and psychologically as the Arunta and the Eskimo, the Dobu and the Ba Thonga, the Zuni and the Alorese, the Dahomey and the Navaho. Indeed, one might argue that the folk-urban classification is not a cultural classification at all since it rides roughshod over fundamental cultural differences, i.e., differences in the ethos of a people. The point is that the attitudes and value systems of folk societies may resemble some urban societies much more than other folk societies. For example, the individualism and competitiveness of the Blackfoot Indians remind one much more of American urban value systems than those of the Zuni.[11] This suggests that the critera used in the folk-urban classification are concerned with the purely formal aspects of society and are not the most crucial for cultural analysis.[12]

What has been said of the folk end of the folk-urban formula applies also to the urban end. Focusing only on the formal aspects of urban society reduces all urban societies to a common denominator and treats them as if they all had the same culture. Thus Greek, Egyptian, Roman, Medieval, twentieth-century American and Russian cities would all be put into the same class.[13] To take but one example, there are obvious and significant differences between American and Russian urban culture, and in all probability these two "urban influences" would have a very different effect upon a preliterate society exposed to them.

It should be clear that the concept "urban" is too much of a catchall to be useful for cultural analysis. Moreover, it is suggested here that the question posed by Redfield, namely, what happens to an isolated homogeneous society when it comes into contact with an urbanized society, cannot possibly be answered in a scientific way, because the question is too general and the terms used do not give us the necessary data. What we need to know is what kind of an urban society, under what conditions of contact, and a host of other specific historical data.

(5) The folk-urban classification has serious limitations in guiding field research

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part of this high culture area) and at the same time to apply it to simple food-gathering peoples like the Shoshone, robs the term of much of its discriminatory value. Also, to write of a "folk element" in Tepoztlán in 1926 (the so-called *tontos*) as if it were identical with the folk element of the pre-Hispanic days neglects all the cultural influences to which this element had been subjected in the intervening four hundred years and blurs many distinctions which have to be made.

[11] Becker makes a similar observation that "primitive" societies may readily approximate the secular rather than the sacred type of society. He cites the Comanche as an example.

[12] Herskovits has made a similar point in his criticism of the folk-urban classification. He wrote, "In such systems [of classification] the orientation is in terms of categories based on form, rather than problems phrased in terms of process." Melville J. Herskovits, *Man and His Works* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1947), p. 607.

[13] Herskovits, using African materials, has made a similar criticism. "It is also to be noted that in discussions of the folk society, African data are nowhere taken into account. In West Africa, however, many urban communities are to be found that range from one hundred thousand inhabitants [the approximate size of Merida, Redfield's Yucatán "city"] to over three hundred and fifty thousand. These populations have complex specialized economies exhibiting, as we have seen, the use of money and the presence of profit motivation. Yet in these cities relationships are as personal as in any 'folk society' and religion is the focal aspect of the culture. In short, here we have an anomaly—an anomaly, that is, in terms of the concept of the folk society—of urban, *sacred*, communities." *Ibid.*, p. 606.

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because of the highly selective implications of the categories themselves and the rather narrow focus of problem. The emphasis upon essentially formal aspects of culture leads to neglect of psychological data and, as a rule, does not give insight into the character of the people. We have already shown how this approach has influenced the selection, interpretation, and organization of the data in Redfield's study of Tepoztlán.

(6) Finally, underlying the folk-urban dichotomy as used by Redfield, is a system of value judgments which contains the old Rousseauan notion of primitive peoples as noble savages, and the corollary that with civilization has come the fall of man.[14] Again and again in Redfield's writings there emerges the value judgment that folk societies are good and urban societies bad. It is assumed that all folk societies are integrated while urban societies are the great disorganizing force. In his introduction to Miner's St. Denis study, Redfield suggests that the usual view of peasant life "as something to be escaped, an ignominy to be shunned" may be wrong. He finds that the *habitant* of St. Denis has order, security, faith, and confidence, "because he has culture." In another essay ("The Folk Society and Culture" in *Eleven Twenty-Six*), he contrasts the "organization and consistency which gives a group moral solidarity" with "the impaired moral organization of the urban society." Even in his most recent study, which to this writer represents a great departure from his earlier thinking, in that he is less concerned with formalism and categories and more concerned with people, we find the old values reappearing. "Progress" and urbanization now are seen as inevitable, but they are still evil.[15]

Having pointed out some of the limitations of the folk-urban formula let us now

[14] This type of value system is particularly prone to influence the interpretation of whether a given cultural change shall be called disorganization or simply reorganization. Since the concept of disorganization is one of the three key concepts in Redfield's folk-urban hypothesis, it can be seen how directly this value system may affect the interpretation. We are not, of course, objecting to the fact of values per se, but rather to the failure to make them explicit, as well as to this particular value system. Redfield's values suggest what Lovejoy and Boas have called "cultural primitivism," which they define as "the discontent of the civilized with civilization, or with some conspicuous and characteristic feature of it." Arthur O. Lovejoy and George Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1935), p. 7.

They show that primitivism has existed in various forms throughout the recorded history of mankind. "Of direct, or even indirect, influence of the classical primitivistic tradition there is probably little. But since the beginning of the present century, Western man has become increasingly sceptical concerning the nineteenth-century 'myth of progress,' increasingly troubled with the misgivings about the value of the outcome of civilization thus far, about the future to which it tends, and about himself as the author of it all; and similar doubts and apprehensions found expression two millenia or more ago. In spite of the more complex and sophisticated general ideology of the contemporary exponents of these moods, there are striking parallels to be observed between certain of the texts that follow [i.e., Greek, Roman, and Indian] and some passages in, e.g., such writings as Freud's *Civilization and Its Discontents* and Spengler's *Man and Technics*." *Ibid.*, p. xi.

[15] Redfield writes, "The people of Chan Kom are, then, a people who have no choice but to go forward with technology, with a declining religious faith and moral conviction, into a dangerous world. They are a people who must and will come to identify their interests with those of people far away, outside the traditional circle of their loyalties and political responsibilities. As such they should have the sympathy of the readers of these pages." Redfield, *A Village That Chose Progress*, p. 178.

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see to what extend the trend of change found in our study of Tepoztlán falls within the categories suggested by Redfield in his study *The Folk Culture of Yucatan*.[16] He postulates that with increased urban influences there is greater disorganization, secularization, and individualization. Taking each separately, we shall consider the family first, as an example of disorganization. Redfield summarized the broad trends of change in family organization as follows:

> As one goes from Tusik toward Merida there is to be noted a reduction in the stability of the elementary family; a decline in the manifestation of patriarchal or matriarchal authority; a disappearance of institutions expressing cohesion in the great family; a reduction in the strength and importance of respect relationships, especially for elder brothers and for elder people generally; an increasing vagueness of the conventional outlines of appropriate behavior toward relatives; and a shrinkage in the applicability of kinship terms primarily denoting members of the elementary family toward more distant relatives or toward persons not relatives.[17]

The first generalization that can be made in the case of Tepoztlán is that, despite the increased city influences in the last seventeen years, the stability of the nuclear family has not been seriously modified. The family remains strong and cohesive, separations have not noticeably increased, and divorce is all but non-existent. The extended family is relatively weak but continues to serve in cases of emergency. This weakness, however, is not a recent phenomenon. Quarrels between husband and wife and wife-beating occur with some frequency, but this too seems to be an old pattern. The tensions and quarrels within families reflect a type of family organization, as well as Tepoztecan personality, but are not necessarily symptoms of disorganization.

Parental authority remains strong in Tepoztlán, despite the elimination of arranged marriages and the increase in elopements. Parents continue to have control over their children, in many cases even after marriage. As we have seen, about sixteen per cent of all house sites are composed of joint families, and about half of these are extended families in which married sons are treated as children subject to the authority of the parents (*hijos de familia*).

Although about fifty per cent of the marriages now begin as elopements, which flout the authority of the parents, the old form of asking for the girl's hand by the

[16] In effect, we are comparing the results of a diachronic study of culture change with that of a synchronic study. Redfield's methodology in *Folk Culture of Yucatan* involved the reconstruction of a historical process from the differential position of four communities on the hypothetical folk-urban continuum. That is, each of the four communities represented a distinct stage in the evolution from folk to urban. It assumed that the communities were similar at some unspecified time in the past, and explained the differences in the degree of secularization, individualization, and disorganization, as a result of urban influences. Redfield had posed a historical problem which he attempted to solve in a non-historical way. In referring to the four monographs on which his book was based, he wrote, "The outlines of historical trends of change . . . might be expected to appear more clearly if carefully prepared histories of local cultures were written. . . . But in none of the four communities studied in the present connection was any systematic effort made to recover the older conditions of the local society by asking informants." Redfield, *Folk Culture of Yucatan*, pp. 341–42.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 63.

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boy's parents continues. In any case, elopements do not lead to disorganization, for most elopements end in marriage, and the couple make peace with their parents. Assuming that elopements are an old trait, as seems to be indicated, here we have a case in which urban influence has intensified an old trait rather than caused its breakdown. Moreover, because Redfield found practically no elopements in Tusik and many elopements in Merida, he associated elopements with urbanism and disorganization. But this assumes what has still to be proved. In Tepoztlán, which is much less urban than Merida, by Redfield's own standards, we find a much higher proportion of elopements than in Merida. Furthermore, in Tzintzuntzan, an even more isolated village, Foster found that ninety per cent of marriages began as elopements. And he cites documentary evidence for the antiquity of this pattern.[18]

The desire of young couples to become independent of their parents and to set up their own homes, which has been indicated earlier, reflects a greater individualism but does not necessarily imply a breakdown in family life. On the contrary, the lesser role of the in-laws and the greater dependence of the husband and wife upon each other, plus the fact that they are each of their own choice, may make for better marriage relations and greater family stability.

Although it is true that some outer forms of respect have been discarded, the fundamental respect status of elders remains. Perhaps the single exception has been the decline in the respect accorded elder brothers. But it is questionable whether the elder brother in Tepoztlán ever enjoyed the special position that he had in Maya society.

We find no evidence for any marked change in the reciprocal behavior of relatives, perhaps because such changes have occurred so far back in history that informants have no memory of them today. As we have said before, the extended family is weak and, so far as we know, has been weak for many generations. The same may be said for the use of kinship terms, which have not changed in recent history. In surrounding villages, which generally conserve older culture elements, kinship terms are used in substantially the same way as in Tepoztlán.

In the examples cited, it is clear that changes have occurred in the village, but these changes do not necessarily imply disorganization. Rather, they involve a new kind of organization or reorganization.[19]

[18] Foster, *Empire's Children*, p. 429.

Beals, in another connection, has also called attention to a pattern of change different from that reported by Redfield. Beals writes, "Cherán, like many Indian communities of Mexico, is increasingly influenced by the town and the city. Nevertheless, the process again seems significantly different from those hitherto described by Redfield. In Cherán there is no distinction of *los tontos* and *los correctos*, mestizo and *indio*, or *ladino* and *indio*, although such may exist in some Tarascan towns with an appreciable mestizo population. Nor does the neat diminishing order of city, town, and village hold in this area. Cherán is probably more influenced by Gary [Indiana, U.S.A.], Mexico City, and Morelia [possibly in diminishing order] than it is by Uruapan and Pátzcuaro. Indeed, it is quite probable that fundamentally Cherán is more progressive, more in touch with the modern world, than is mestizo Pátzcuaro with its conscious idealization of a Colonial past." Beals, *Cherán*, pp. 211–12.

[19] Gross in a recent study has made the same point. He writes, " . . it should be noted that Redfield's concepts of organization and disorganization are subject to a severe limitation. The

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114 121 181 771 The second conclusion in the study in Yucatán showed a clear trend toward secularization.

> The conclusion has been reached that the city and town exhibit greater secularization than do the villages. The principal facts offered in support of this conclusion are . . . the separation of maize from the context of religion and its treatment simply as a means of getting food or money; the increase in the number of specialists who carry on their activities for a practical livelihood relative to those that carry on traditional activities which are regarded as prerogatives and even moral duties to the community; the change in the character of the institution of *guardia* whereby from being an obligation, religiously supported, to protect a shrine and a god it becomes a mere job in the town hall; the (almost complete) disappearance of family worship; the decline in the sacramental character of baptism and marriage; the conversion of the pagan cult from what is truly religious worship to mere magic or even superstition; the decline in the veneration accorded the santos; the change in the novena in which from being a traditional form expressive of appeal to deity it becomes a party for the fun of the participants; the alteration in the festival of the patron saint in which it loses its predominant character as worship and becomes play and an opportunity for profit; the separation of ideas as to the cause and cure of sickness from conceptions as to moral or religious obligation.[80]

114 121 181 243 771 The data from Tepoztlán does not enable a careful comparison on each of the cited points. However, much of the data is comparable and shows the trend toward secularization noted. The attitude toward corn in Tepoztlán combines both the secular and religious. Certainly corn is viewed as the basic crop, both for subsistence and for trade. But the religious aspects have not been entirely lopped off. The corn is still blessed in the church on San Isidro's day, and some families still burn incense in the home and address a prayer to the corn before planting. Some also make the sign of the cross when planting the first seed. Moreover, on the day of San Miguel, crosses are still placed at the four corners of the milpa to ward off the winds. From informants' accounts, it appears that these customs were more widespread before the Revolution. It is difficult to say how much change has occurred since 1926, for Redfield did not report on this subject.

114 121 181 463 The study of occupational changes and division of labor in Tepoztlán showed that most of the old "folk specialists" have continued and even increased in number, side by side with the increase in the new specialists. There were more *curanderos, chirimiteros,* fireworks makers and mask makers in 1944 than in 1926, and there seemed to be every indication that these occupations would continue. The only exceptions are the *huehuechiques,* who must be able to speak Náhuatl, and the *chirimiteros,* who are being displaced by the modern band. However, the rate of increase in what Redfield would call the secular specialists has been much greater than that of the "folk specialists." To this extent the independent findings for

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114 121 181 force the analysis into an organization disorganization framework and neglect the possibility that there may exist different levels of organization in cultures. . . ." Neal Gross, "Cultural Variables in Rural Communities," *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. LIV, No. 5 (March, 1948), pp. 348-456.

[80] *Ibid.,* p. 352.

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Yucatán and Tepoztlán agree. But it should be noted that before the Revolution there were more shoemakers, carpenters, saddle makers, and other artisans than in 1926 or in 1944. Were it not that we had specific historical information to explain this phenomenon, we might conclude that with increasing urban contacts there is a decrease in the number of specialists. The reason for this decrease has been, rather, the destruction of many neighboring haciendas which were formerly supplied by labor from Tepoztlán, and the abolition of the *cacique* class which offered a market for the products of the artisans.

In Tepoztlán there does not appear to have been any appreciable decline in the sacramental character of baptism and marriage. At any rate, both are considered important and are standard practices. Despite the legalization of secular marriage, church marriage is still considered the best marriage by most Tepoztecans.

Similarly there is no evidence of any decline in the veneration of the *santos;* the novena continues to be an appeal to the deity rather than a party for fun; the patron saints of the barrios are still regarded as protectors and are worshipped as such. Nor have barrio fiestas become primarily an occasion for profit. In fact, Tepoztecans do not show the marked commercial spirit reported in Mitla by Parsons, and in communities of the Guatemalan highlands by Sol Tax. Unlike Parsons' experiences in Mitla, we were never besieged by questions about the cost of things, nor did we ever witness Tepoztecans haggling among themselves or with strangers.

The third conclusion of the Yucatán study pertains to the trend toward individualization, or individualism as one goes from folk to urban. The specific facts found in the study of the four communities are given as follows:

> . . . . The relative decrease in importance of specialized functions which are performed in behalf of the community and the relative increase of specialties discharged for the individual's own benefit; the development of individual rights in land and in family estates; the diminution or disappearance of collective labor and of the exchange of services in connection with civic enterprises and religious worship; the decreasing concern of the family or of the local community in the making and the maintaining of marriages; the becoming less common of the extended domestic family; the lessening of emphasis and of conventional definition of the respect relationships among kin; the decline in family worship and the disappearance of religious symbols expressive of the great family; decrease in the tendency to extend kinship terms with primary significance for members of the elementary family to more remote relatives or to persons unrelated genealogically; the increasing vagueness of the conventional outlines of appropriate behavior towards relatives; the change in the nature of the marriage and baptismal rites so as less to express the linkage of the families and more to concern the immediate involved individuals only; the decline in relative importance of the santo patron of the local community; the suggested relation of the increase in sorcery to the separation of individuals, especially of women from the security of familial groups.[a]

Some of the items listed above were also listed under the categories of disorganization and secularization and have been treated earlier. The development of

[a] *Ibid.*, p. 355.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

individual rights in land may date back prior to the Spanish Conquest. Cortés and his heirs owned land in Tepoztlán and rented it out to Tepoztecans as early as 1580. In the past twenty or thirty years there have been no changes in the direction of the private ownership of the communal resources. The persistence of the communal resources, which still accounts for over eighty per cent of all the area of the municipio, is impressive.

The trend toward the breakdown of collective labor is seen clearly in Tepoztlán, particularly in connection with the difficulty in getting barrio members to turn out for the plowing and planting of the barrio fields. In 1947, three of the barrios had rented out the land and used the rental for the barrio. On the whole, many of our findings for Tepoztlán might be interpreted as confirming Redfield's more general findings for Yucatán, particularly in regard to the trend toward secularization and individualization, perhaps less so in regard to disorganization.

CULTURE CHANGE IN TEPOZTLÁN

Let us now depart from Redfield's formulation and analyze the changes in Tepoztlán in terms of concrete historical occurrences and their patterns. For this purpose, the history of culture change in Tepoztlán may be divided into three major periods, each with its distinctive characteristics. These periods are (1) from the Spanish Conquest to about 1910; (2) from 1910 to about 1930; (3) from 1930 to the present. The great differences in the lengths of each of these periods correspond, to some extent, to the different rates of change characteristic of each. Furthermore, each period is characterized by changes of a different order.

During the first period, change was on the whole gradual but far-reaching, touching all aspects of life from material culture and technology to social organization, economics, and religion. The changes during this period were the result of outside influence and consisted of the transformation of the culture by the super-imposition of Spanish culture, consisting of both urban and rural elements, on the native culture, with a resultant fusion of the two. During the second period, the changes were caused by a combination of external and internal factors, and changes were more rapid and violent, affecting primarily the social and political organization. The third period was in a sense a continuation of the second, with the changes primarily in the fields of communication, literacy, education, consumption patterns, and values, and with economics, social organization, and religion remaining quite stable. On the whole, but particularly in the field of material culture, the new culture elements in all periods did not supplant but were added to the old, making for a richer and more heterogeneous culture.

FROM THE CONQUEST TO 1910

This period can be divided into two sub-periods: one, from the Conquest to 1810, the colonial period; and two, from 1810 to 1910, the end of the Díaz regime.

The effects of the Spanish Conquest and of Spanish influence during the colonial period were extremely complicated and included both destructive and constructive

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

FROM 1910 TO 1920

Tepoztlán suffered extremely during the years of the Revolution, and village life was completely disrupted. The village was repeatedly occupied by the opposing forces, homes were burned, crops and animals destroyed, and the people completely impoverished and forced to flee. A large number of Tepoztecans had their first contacts with city life at this time. Village population declined markedly, many having lost their lives in battle or as a result of hunger and illness. With the Revolution, the political power of the *caciques* in Tepoztlán was broken, and the old class distinctions were abolished.[23] The church barely functioned during this period and religious life was at a standstill.

FROM 1920 TO 1930

In the ten years after the Revolution, the village struggled back to normalcy. Population increased rapidly as people returned and as living conditions improved. In 1930, constitutional government was established in the state of Morelos, providing for independent municipios and "free" elections. New political factions arose, reflecting the post-revolutionary tension and unrest, which culminated in a minor civil war in Tepoztlán. The many restrictions placed on the church by the new federal government caused the church to shut its doors, so that religious life was again at a minimum. In 1920, the Colonia Tepozteco was established in Mexico City, exposing Tepoztlán to a permanent and active urbanizing influence.

FROM 1930 TO 1945

The changes which occurred in the past twenty years have been far reaching and may be summarized as follows: a rapid increase in population, an improvement in health services accompanied by some decline in the importance of *curanderos*, a marked rise in the standard of living and the aspiration level of the people, the growth of a class of small landowners, the development of a greater variety and specialization in occupations, a decrease in the use of Náhuatl, and a corresponding spread in the use of Spanish, a rise in literacy and the beginnings of regular newspaper reading, and a greater incorporation of the village into the main stream of national life.

The primary influences for change have been the new road, the granting of *ejidos*, and the expansion of school facilities. Corn mills were also important. Be-

[23] Here again, the concrete historical data do not follow the logic of the folk-urban continuum. One of the criteria used in Redfield's definition of the folk society is that it is a classless society. As we go toward the urban pole of the folk-urban continuum we might expect greater class differentiation. But Tepoztlán today shows much less class stratification than in 1910, so that we might conclude that Tepoztlán was more of the folk society type today than in 1910. Similarly, the classless society of the future, as envisioned by the socialists, would, according to the folk-urban continuum, have to be considered a folk society. Becker has avoided this difficulty in his sacred-secular dichotomy by setting up subtypes under each category. He distinguishes two types of sacred societies, the folk and the prescribed, each in turn with their subtypes. The socialist society would probably be classified under the sacred-prescribed type.

3:Lewis E-5 (1943-1957) 1960
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[pp. 4-92 not processed]

8

The Changing Village

THE DESCRIPTION of Tepoztlán given in the preceding pages is based largely on my study of the village in 1943. Since that time many changes have occurred both in the village and in Mexico as a whole. Here I will sketch briefly some of the major changes on the national level and then examine those in the village as revealed by my restudy in 1956. In this way the reader can see to what extent Tepoztlán has participated in national trends.

The Nation

Mexico has undergone great changes since 1940. The population has increased by over ten million to reach a high of about thirty million in 1956. This increase has been accompanied by a surge of urbanization, with millions of peasants and villagers moving into the cities. The population growth of Mexico City has been phenomenal—from one and a half million in 1940 to four million in 1956. The economy has been expanding and the country has become acutely production conscious. A boom spirit has been created reminiscent of the great expansion in the United States at the turn of the century. Many Mexicans believe that their country has found a formula which will soon take it out of the ranks of the underdeveloped nations and will serve as a model to other countries.

Achievements in agriculture and industry have been record breaking; in view of the arid nature of the country, those in agriculture are even more impressive than those in industry. Since 1940, about a million and a half hectares have been brought under irrigation; the total harvested area has been increased by about 70 percent; and the number of tractors has increased from 4,600 to over 55,000.

Increased national wealth has led to some improvement in the standard of living of the general population. More and more rural people sleep on beds

4:Spitzer E-5 (ca. 1956) 1957
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12/795 cultural or social, and folk Catholicism—represent a part of the whole which is known as the Catholic Church. Wherever Catholicism is found, these forms may be found, sometimes interwoven, sometimes sufficiently distinct to be discerned as gradations on a continuum, running from the two polarities of formal to folk Catholicism.

● 114/795 The village of Tepoztlán in Morelos, Mexico, an Aztec community with a Catholic tradition beginning in the early days of the Conquest, was first described by Robert Redfield in his classical account of a Mexican Village[1]. Recently, Oscar Lewis has made a restudy, providing a more analytical source of data as gathered by him and his staff[2]. Redfield used his well-known holistic approach, while Lewis' work is more in the nature of a factor analysis. It was not feasible or desirable that either author eliminate a discussion of religion when reporting a predominantly Catholic society. Redfield pinpointed the religious activity of the Tepoztecans from the standpoint of ethnology, as is seen particularly in his chapter, "A Tepoztecan Book of Days"[3] describing the holy days and holidays which make up the religious life as well as the social organization of the people. Although he himself did not share the religious convictions of the people he studied, Redfield presents a very accurate and interesting account. In his restudy, Lewis speaks of the religious behaviour of the people, and in some ways reveals his own lack of familiarity with Catholic thought and practice. The restudy was valuable, however, because of the objectivity with which Lewis delineates some aspects of village life not emphasized by Redfield.

114 It is a common procedure in the physical sciences for one investigator to build upon the work of another, retesting, checking findings, and proceeding only after having verified the results of previous experimentation. This approach is fairly new in

[1] Robert Redfield, *Tepoztlán, A Mexican Village*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1930.

[2] Oscar Lewis, *Life in A Mexican Village, Tepoztlán Restudied*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1951.

[3] Redfield, *op. cit.*, Chapter VI, pp. 97-132. See also Chapter XI, "The Santo and the Veterano", pp. 193-204.

4:Spitzer E-5 (ca. 1956) 1957
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the social sciences, particularly in ethnology. Readers are perhaps familiar with Lewis' point of view[4], and Redfield's rejoinders[5]. It apprears that what Redfield clarified was the rhythm of life and the flow of custom in this village, the strengths and assets of the people. Lewis, on the other hand, isolated those aspects of village life which expressed themselves in conflict form. Thus familial, social and sexual conflicts were brought into the foreground. That there are conflicts in all societies is admitted; that analysis of conflict therefore captures the inner essence of a small community may be questioned. Such a question does not, of course, eliminate the data presented by Lewis; it merely calls attention to his focus. In either case, objectively speaking, the investigator found what he sought, and reported what he observed. The result is that we have available two viewpoints about the life of this village. Our purpose was not to analyze the differences between Redfield and Lewis, but rather to build upon the foundation provided by their works and to seek further light on the religious life of the village.

The chief value of additional study along religious lines by an anthropologist who is also a practicing Catholic would lie in the opportunity thus provided for gaining deeper insight into the religious life of the people, by an attempt to discover how the Church looks upon Her own problems in this village. This calls for considerable objectivity as well as an awareness of the intent of the formal Church.

Redfield has remarked to the writer that the Catholic observer holds at least an advantage of seeing how the Church looks upon Herself and Her own problems[6]. This introduces a new methodological note, as the Catholic scientist observes the Church's position in the formal or high tradition as it inter-

[4] Lewis, *op. cit.*

[5] Robert Redfield, *The Primitive World and Its Transformations*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1953. pp. 154-157. Robert Redfield, *The Little Community*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955, pp. 132-137.

[6] Personal communication. The writer is greatly indebted to Professor Redfield for his advisement concerning the point of departure and the field work relative to this paper.

4:Spitzer E-5 (ca. 1956) 1957
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121 acts with the folk or low tradition, and is influenced by it from
795 the "grass-roots" level[7]. If we regard these extremes—the high tradition and the low tradition—as two ends of the continuum from formal to folk Catholicism, we may be able to determine something about their effect upon each other. A more careful analysis of Catholic cultures may be possible, however, by including the intermediate positions of nominal and cultural Catholicism, not emphasizing the degree to which the religious beliefs are practiced in terms of the Church's own goals, but rather, the forms which Catholicism manifests. In this sense, Tepoztlán
[114] is again restudied, both to secure additional information, and to permit a different sort of participant observation by an anthropologist practicing the faith of the villagers he studies.

One basic reason for selecting for this study the village of Tepoztlán was that here was manifested in bold relief the frontier where formal and folk Catholicism meet. The natural
793 center of any formal Catholic activity rests locally with the parish priest who is pastor of the Church in a specific geographic area. In Tepoztlán, Dom Pedro Rojas has held this post for the past thirty-six years, under appointment by the Archbishop of
793 Cuernavaca. His role, however, becomes somewhat complex
794 because his parish is made up of seven semi-independent units known as barrios, each of which centers around a smaller church (iglesita) or chapel of which he is also the pastor, and which in all formal matters is accountable to him. Nonetheless each of these chapels does function with some degree of independence, pointing up the significance of folk Catholicism, as will be illustrated later in this brief account.

In addition to having had the advantage of studying the
114 works already accomplished about this village, the present discussion is based upon personal observations made during two summer field seasons. The writer and his wife spent four consecutive week-ends in Tepoztlán during August 1955, and lived
123 in the village continuously during August and the early days
794 of September, 1956. We participated in the daily social and

[7] Robert Redfield, *Peasant Society and Culture*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1956, pp. 67-104.

5: Lewis E-5 (1943-1944, 1947-1948) 1955
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Case 15

MEDICINE AND POLITICS IN A MEXICAN VILLAGE

by Oscar Lewis

In writing about the community and the health officer, Dr. George Rosen urges us "to recognize first of all that the community is a power structure. Somewhere it has a locus of authority. There are people in it who decide what many other people shall or shall not do, how they shall live and work, and many other fundamental matters." Any new venture in the health field will stand or fall partly on its merits and partly on its implications for strengthening or weakening the prevailing pattern of power. This has been documented in Dr. Kimball's case study of an Alabama community and in the Brazilian study by Dr. Oberg and Mr. Rios. In yet another form, it is again exemplified in Dr. Lewis' case study.

Dr. Lewis relates a troublesome episode that formed part of the field experience upon which his book, Life in a Mexican Village, *is based. The importance of the present study rests on what it reveals about overt and covert aspects of the power process. It reviews the intricate maneuvers by which a psychological research project was played off against a medical service originally set up in response to popular request. For instances of other programs combining research and service activities, the reader is referred to the Canadian study by Dr. John and Dr. Elaine Cumming, the Thai study by Dr. Hanks and his associates, and the Wellesley case study by Dr. Naegele.*—EDITOR

THE PROBLEM

Villagers Stop Using a Local Clinic

Shortly after arriving in the Mexican village of Tepoztlán in 1943, our community research team began to meet with the heads of families in various parts of the settlement to make ourselves known and to explain why we were there. Although our primary objective was to study village life rather than to change it, the villagers took advantage of these introductory occasions to direct attention to their pressing problems. They pointed out that their lands were becoming increasingly sterile, that for lack of water they could raise only a single crop a year, that they needed an-